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or they would see it. She would make a buckskin string with two pieces of turquoise tied to it and give it to anyone who was afraid of the snake. That one had to wear it on the right foot below the ankle.

It is quite as important that the child understand the ways of the cloud-dwelling Thunder People whose arrows are chipped flints found throughout Chiricahua country. The children are directed to make a respectful spitting noise when the lightning flashes and to refrain from eating during a storm. Sage is pointed out as a protective plant which may be worn in the hair during a storm. Nothing red should be displayed at such a time, they are told, for red is associated with the lightning flash and may draw it.

While the child is very young, adults take the proper steps to protect him from danger. But, as he grows old enough to understand ideas and to react consistently to them, more responsibility for his own safety is transferred to him. Thus, quite small children not only depend upon the amulets provided for them but pick and wear the sage which wards off the lightning, dispose of a loose tooth, and extend due respect to masked dancers. Advice and guidance are freely given, but the response which constitutes growth and fulfilment is, as far as possible, elicited from the child himself. The prevailing theme in things nonritual as well as ritual is that the youngster must learn to do for himself tomorrow what is done for him today.

Since most ceremonies are curative rites and are of frequent occurrence, it is almost inevitable that, while the child is still very young, he will witness a full-length ceremony. Very often the first shamanistic performance a child remembers is one in which he was the patient:

At this time, when I was about six years old, I saw the first ceremony I can remember. It was given for me. I don't know what was the matter with me, but at that time I was very slim and underweight, and it may have been for a general run-down condition. I know I was taken to the shaman's house. I was lying on a bed in the middle of the room. My grandmother was there. My mother, but not my father, was there. My father couldn't be there because my mother's mother was present. Other people whom I did not know were sitting around. The man who was curing me sang. Later on I was told that he had forbidden me to eat the head and liver of any animal. Whenever they had liver after that, they had something else for me. At big gatherings where there was head, I would not eat any of it.

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He didn't act as though he was surprised to see me. He stopped singing and asked me to sit down. He just talked in a social way. I don't think he suspected the reason for my visit. I asked him for a smoke. At first he hesitated. He asked me if I was allowed to smoke. I told him that my aunt let me smoke. Then he gave it to me. It is unusual for an older man to give a boy a smoke. A boy wouldn't ever ask an old Indian for a smoke; he wouldn't dare. I stayed with him for about an hour. When I left I still thought he was a witch, though I had no reason for it. I just thought he hadn't revealed himself.

The first few times I went to visit him I took pains not to be seen by others. At first I thought it was something daring to do, but after a while it wore off. Even when I was visiting him openly by myself, I used to avoid him when I was with the other boys.

I took precautions while I was going to him though. I was afraid of being witched. I didn't accept anything from him. Once I refused something, though I needed it badly. I wouldn't eat there either. If he offered me food, I always explained that I had just eaten and wasn't hungry. I did take smokes though. I wanted them pretty badly, I guess, because he could have done more harm through tobacco than through food, since tobacco is used in ceremonies. I never found out why he was suspected or met anybody he was supposed to have harmed.

PLAY

It would be a mistake to suppose that childhood is little more than an unhappy introduction to notions of death and witchcraft. Fears exist, but the normal youngster devotes far less attention to these alarming subjects than he does to his playmates and games.

The children are amazingly resourceful in exploiting the possibilities of their natural surroundings in play. Little girls, and sometimes little boys, make beads from wild-rose hips, ground cherries, and the scouring rush plant. Pine needles serve for earrings and bracelets. The girls fashion dolls from panic grass and string together ground cherries to form little figures. They then make, on a tiny scale, substitutes for all the possessions they observe in their own households. Small toy homes are constructed from a number of plants. Ferns yield pillows, blankets, and beds for the dolls. From the Jacob's-ladder are shaped little dresses for the doll, and these dresses are decorated with "jingles" of sideoats grama grass. Even a miniature of the food staple, mescal, has been found, and so the dolls go forth industriously to gather "doll's mescal" (*Androsace pinetorum*). Food is generously pro-

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The visitors build temporary camps to the south, west, and north of the space reserved for the ceremonial tepee. A long lane to the east must be left unobstructed.

At the beginning of the ceremony, custody of the girl will pass into the hands of the attendant and the singer. But before this the girl is reminded by her parents of the seriousness of her role and is advised to be obedient and cheerful. However, these ideals are not always attained.

> Some of the girls are bashful. They have a time with them! They had a time with them in the old days too; I've heard stories about it. Some girls had to be whipped before they'd go through with it. Some of them got scolded before everyone. . . . . They talk to her, tell her to be good, but the girl gets mean sometimes.

The exact manner of deciding when the ceremony shall begin is subject to some variation. According to one account, the proper starting-point should fall four days after the onset of menstruation. Most informants agree that the rite may begin "when everything is ready." Some see a tendency for the group in charge to set the time for fall, "when food is plentiful," although theoretically the ceremony may occur any time of the year.

Before sunrise of the first day the girl washes her hair in yucca-root suds. Then she presents herself before the attendant, either at a special shelter erected for her care or at the home of the older woman.

> The attendant first puts pollen on the girl's head and face and across the bridge of her nose before anything starts the first morning. Then the woman prays over her that she may advance to good womanhood. From then on her womanhood begins. No man is allowed to go in there at this time.
>
> Then the woman arranges the girl's hair and dresses her, beginning with the right moccasin, then the left, and continuing up to the head. She ties two eagle feathers at the back of the girl's head. The girl always faces the sunrise while this is being done. The woman prays for the girl while she is dressing her, and some even sing if they have songs and the girl wants them sung. The men do not say much about this dressing. This is the woman's part, and men are not supposed to say much about it. When the girl is all dressed, it is all right for a man to see her. After the dressing you have to call the girl "White Painted Woman."
>
> The girl must not eat anything up to now. Then, the first day, when the girl

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is dressed but before she has eaten anything, the woman gives her yucca fruit with a cross of pollen on it. She first holds it to the directions, motions three times toward the girl with it, and puts it in her mouth the fourth time. This is to give her a good appetite; if she is fed with Indian fruits and piñon nuts and all the good things at this time, the girl will have a good appetite throughout life.

The attendant now advises the girl:

881 793 [271] [413]

She tells her how to drink water through the tube [of carrizo, suspended from the fringe of the dress on the right side], how to scratch herself with the stick [from a fruit- or nut-bearing tree; the scratcher hangs on the left side of the dress]. She tells the girl that she must not scratch herself with her nails, because, if she does, it will leave scars, and that she must not touch water with her lips but must use the tube for eight days or it will rain.

She tells the girl not to eat too much, because she must stay in the tepee most of the time, and she shouldn't go out in the brush much.

She tells the girl that she mustn't go around except where she is told she can go, that she should stay in the tepee most of the time for the four days of the ceremony and then for four days afterward, until she takes these clothes off.

The woman tells the girl not to talk much during this time and not to laugh, because her face will be old and wrinkled before her time if she does. And she tells the girl that for the ceremony and for four days after it she should not wash. She has pollen on, and if she should put her hand in water and wash it off, it would rain like anything. She tells the girl that if it rains and she goes out in it, that will make it rain harder. If the girl gets wet, it will be rainy and spoil the good time of the people. She must not even go to a spring or look up at the sky, for the rain clouds would gather if she did.[1] [821]

And these old women talk to the girl about cooking and women's work too. They tell her to think what it means and to believe what the singer tells her, for, if she does not believe, it will not do her any good. And the girl is told to mind and not to make fun of anyone. She is told that she must not get angry or curse anyone till the ceremony is all over for her, till the eight days are over. For the Chiricahua believe that the disposition a girl shows at the time of the ceremony will be hers all through life. If she gets angry, she is going to be mean the rest of her life. They say, too, that if a girl doesn't mind at this time, bad weather comes. If she is pleasant and goes through the ceremony well, she will always be that way. [868] [867] 881 793 828

And it seems to me that it turns out this way. There's my wife. She went through the ceremony very well, obeyed, and was good. You take C.; she was mean and balky when she was going around that basket. Today she's very mean. My wife went through first, a year or so ahead of C. Then C. went

[1] One informant stated that the singer may not wash his hair during the rite, presumably to prevent rainfall. [533] [302]

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fire pit is flanked at each cardinal point by a flat rock painted red on top. These "stand for" the mescal or century plant, a food staple, and act as a prayer that the girl may find and prepare an abundant supply of mescal in the course of her life. A stone bowl, the mortar for the paints of the ceremony, is set toward the east this first night. This, too, will be moved each night.

The singer rolls a cigarette, lights it with the slow fuse, and smokes and prays. His voice is hardly audible. The attendant, using the same fuse, also offers smoke ceremonially. Then the singer starts to shake the hoof rattle which he holds in his right hand and begins his first song.

The songs of this ceremony are in reality a journey in which the girl is brought to the holy home and from there is conducted symbolically through a long and successful life.

We think of a woman's life as blocked out in parts. One is girlhood, one is young womanhood, one is middle age, and one is old age. The songs are supposed to carry her through them. The first songs describe the holy home and the ceremony. Later come the songs about the flowers and the growing things. These stand for her youth, and as the songs go through the seasons the girl is growing up and reaching old age.

At the conclusion of a song the singer explained:

This song is about flowers. We are taking this girl through a beautiful life. This is the conception of a beautiful life for the Apache. We take the girl through beautiful lands, past flowers, through seasons with their fruits. The translation doesn't mean much, but there is a great deal to it if you think about it.

There is a general tendency to move, as the songs continue, from the more remote and abstract qualities to the growing things of the earth.

The big ceremony starts with songs of the sun, the moon, and such things. Then comes the earth. Then the songs are mostly about the earth and the things that grow on it, about the fruits, the trees, the plants; about even the children. Nothing is left out. . . . .

. . . . On the fourth night the songs deal with all the different grasses and carry them through all the different stages of development, from spring to winter. Then by morning we are through.

The songs belong to two general groups, and each kind of song is accompanied by a different dance. Most numerous are the "shuffling-step" songs, and, when these are sung, the girl stands,

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ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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sleep before the others would show indolence and would cause all the members of the party to be drowsy. The novice is cautioned against eating heartily lest he become gluttonous, and he is forbidden to eat choice parts of the meat or anything from the inside of the animal. When captured stock is killed on the return journey, the tough neck part is set aside for him. Also the ban against anything from the inside of an animal is then relaxed, and novices may be fed lung so that the stock will not become exhausted before the party reaches home.

Although his conduct is so important for the success of the expedition, the novice is obliged to gain his practical experience in a subordinate capacity:

> They take the novices four times for the rough work but won't let them fight. It is to toughen them, they say.
>
> The novices have to get the water and wood and do the heavy work around the camp when the men stop for the night. The men order them around pretty much. They must get up early in the morning and build the fire and care for the horses if there are any along. They are told, "Go over there and get those horses," and they have to go pretty fast. They have to do the cooking and make beds for the men. Sometimes they carry provisions for the men too. The men make these boys stay up on guard. They are the only ones who do guard duty.

The words which the boy learns and which he is instructed to use during his first four raiding journeys constitute a vocabulary of circumlocutory elements which replace ordinary forms of speech: "They had ceremonial words. Just the novice used them and only while he was out on the raid. The old men taught them these words and said, 'This is the novice's talk.'" In the raid or war vocabulary the term for heart becomes "that by means of which I live"; the customary word for pollen is replaced by a form which can be translated "that which is becoming life"; the owl is referred to as "he who wanders about at night," etc. Approximately eighty forms belonging to this special vocabulary have been collected. It is probable that the vocabulary was never a great deal more extensive, for the novice continues to designate most objects in the usual manner.[15]

[15] For a full analysis of the vocabulary see Opler and Hoijer, "The Raid and War-Path Language of the Chiricahua Apache," *American Anthropologist*, October–December, 1940.

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Women, as well as men, claim to control this power: 832 791

T.'s wife has this ceremony. Once when she was full of tiswin she promised to show me what she knew about it. She sang one of the butterfly songs for me. I couldn't get on to it, for I heard it only once. In the morning when she was sober she changed her mind and wouldn't show me any more. In these ceremonies the caterpillar and rope are used with the butterfly. If the butterfly is put in your bed during such a ceremony, you're a "goner"; you are "charmed." [825]

Another ramification of love power is its relation to deer ceremonies: 832 [825]

The man who knows the ceremony of the deer is good at love medicine, they say. He gets any young girl. He will always be poor though. He never has anything but his loincloth, but the girl loves him just the same. [791] [735]

If a person is under the influence of the love ceremony and eats meat from a deer's head, it will cause his own head to swell up. [262]

The main outlines of the love ceremony are now clear. The desired one, lured by flageolet music, is to become as aimless and irresponsible as the butterfly and is to be enmeshed in a net of "ropes" of the sun (sunbeams, sometimes symbolized by pieces of cord). Contact with the person to be influenced is important. Water may be playfully splashed upon him; a beam of light may be directed toward him from some shiny object (another form of the sun motif); a sticky leaf may be flicked at him; a butterfly or a caterpillar may be dropped in his bed; a piece of his clothing or a strand of his hair may be secured. 832 82

The emphasis of the ceremony is upon disarming any contrary will and securing fast the one desired. This explains the seeming intrusion of deer power. The deer ceremony has broadly similar objectives—to induce the animal to be tractable and to hold it in a place from which it may easily be taken. By substituting an object of affection for the game animal, the deer ceremony becomes quite as effective for another purpose. But here a choice must be made. One who decides to use his deer ceremony for love rather than for sustenance will remain poor in material things. 832 825 182 [735]

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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dreams of the dead and of their return.[1] But from other sources this omission (owing perhaps to fear of dwelling upon such a dangerous topic) is repaired. "If you see a dead person in your sleep, you're not going to last long," said one informant. So feared are such dreams that special precautions are often taken to prevent them: "Clothing, especially moccasins and hats, should not be put above or under the pillow or about the head of the bed at night, for this causes dreams about ghosts."

The importance attached to dreams other than these varies from individual to individual:

> Some people are very much guided by dreams. Some people are recognized as very true dreamers. But I have just ordinary dreams. All my dreams are about raids: I am always running away from Mexicans. I also dream a great deal about dances. I am always in there dancing. I recognize a Mescalero woman in there, and I am always dancing with her. Sometimes I am standing there and I wonder, "Why doesn't someone dance with me?"

> My dreams run on the order of war. Long ago the government had Western Apache scouts to track down the Chiricahua. I dream that they are making a raid on my people. I am trying to get away from them. I climb into a tree, and then I always wake up.

Still another commentator disclaimed any reliance on dreams for himself. "I can dream plenty of things, some good and some bad, and I don't pay any attention to them." But this same man admitted that the dream could act as a vision experience and guardian spirit for others, whom he called dream shamans, saying:

> We must be dream shamans, like P., to know what these dreams mean. Only the one who knows, who gets a vision with it, is all right. You can get more of this from P. He's an old man. He's about the oldest man here. He believes his dreams are true. When he dreams about the peccary, it means something bad. When he dreams about deer, it means something good.[2]

[1] There are two kinds of "death dreams." To dream of the death of living persons is made psychologically acceptable by interpreting it to mean the opposite. But dreams of the return or the sight of the dead are among the most harrowing of experiences.

[2] It is interesting that the good omen, deer, an animal much sought by the hunter, should be contrasted with the peccary, an animal that most Chiricahua will not taste.

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tures of a ceremony. He learns what functions the rite can perform, what ceremonial presents to request from those in whose behalf it is exercised, what restrictions to impose on patients, what design elements, what paraphernalia, what sacred substances to employ. He may be advised to wait a certain number of months or years, or until he receives some signal from his power before using the ceremony. Therefore, "even a man's wife may not suspect he knows the ceremony" until the auspicious moment arrives.

After the ceremony has been learned and the understanding with the power source has been established, the new shaman is conducted to the point from which he started, or he finds himself suddenly transported there.

The nature and sources of supernatural power.—Supernatural power is, in the largest sense, the animating principle of the universe, the life-force. Again and again, shamans have terminated a discussion of the authenticity of power by exclaiming, "It is alive! It speaks to me!"

Since it is the office of beneficial supernatural power to perpetuate life, it must find ways in which to heal, warn, and guard mankind. These mediums are the familiar channels—the animals, the birds, the personified supernaturals, and others. The manner in which some of these channels themselves contribute to life and health is self-evident. Venison is a staple necessary to maintain life. Therefore, supernatural power working through the personified essence of the deer is a logical source of a ceremony to make the deer obedient to human needs. Or, since the mountain lion is a mighty hunter, power obtained by contact with the personification of this animal may be useful to the same end.

But the maintenance of well-being is not alone a matter of procuring food. Inimical forces and creatures must be counteracted. When, for instance, someone has been bitten or frightened by a snake, a snake shaman is hired to use a ceremony derived from a supernatural experience with Snake to force the reptile to repair the damage it has wrought. This lends a homeopathic flavor to the ritual practices, in which a snake ceremony

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remember the prayers. When a man is handing down power, if the one he is teaching cannot learn the prayers and the rest of the ceremony in four days, it is a sign that power does not want to come to him. But if the man learns easily, he is the type of person for the work, it shows. It is not a thing that the shaman has entire say about. He must consult the power, the source from which he gets his ceremony. The shaman chooses, but it must please the power.

Of the final act of the transfer, it was said:

He told us we would have to stay up with him for four nights and learn it. Then the last night, the last thing he will do is to put pollen in our mouths four times, and the fourth time the power will come to us.

Since the power could have rejected him, the student feels that he has been approved. The power, pleased with the new incumbent, appears to him, speaks to him, and performs all the services for him that it rendered his instructor. One who has learned a ceremony, if he is a more forceful and religiously minded person, may actually come to know the power better than his predecessor.

Sometimes the shaman who teaches another his ceremony does not insist on payment. More often, some payment is required or, nevertheless, proffered. In learning some ceremonies, the person "in training" must submit during the period of instruction to certain food and behavior restrictions. "If the new shaman does not follow the rules laid down by his instructor, he will lose the power."

There is no obligation to accept instruction from a shaman who is eager to give it. "I was approached by a man a long time ago who wanted to transfer his power to me. I told him, 'No, I am afraid of it.' Sometimes a person will want to hand down a ceremony, but no one will take it because it is so dangerous."

Personality differences of shamans.—Some individuals are definitely "ceremonial people." They claim the right to conduct a number of rituals obtained by personal vision experience, by instruction, or in both ways. "R. has all sorts of power in different ways; he's just full of it," was a remark made of one man. Of another great shaman, his son said:

My father knew Goose, Bear, Wolf, Lightning, and many other things. When he received his power, the last man in the cave [holy power home] said, "All these are under you."

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ORIGINS OF DISEASE

753 825 *Contaminating animals.*—Ailments which do not yield to ordinary herbal remedies or to decoctions ritually administered are thought to have been contracted from unclean animals or from animals or supernaturals capable of sending disease when offended, defied, or instigated by malevolent forces. It is to combat sickness of this kind that the intricate curing ceremonies are reserved.

753 825 828 There are different ways in which the disease reaches the individual:

Here are three ways that you can get sickness from an animal or from some other source. One is by getting scared. This is typical of owl disease. It is the thrill of terror, the moment of cold fright, that is really the entrance of the evil influence into your body. You might have such an experience and not be sick for months. Then, when you get sick you remember. You say, "Ah, that is when it happened, when I was so frightened." Another way is by smell, odor. Bear and lightning sickness may be spread in this way. Another way is touch. Contact with hides of the evil animals such as the bear, wolf, and coyote will give you the disease.

753 825 The greatest caution is observed toward animals and forces which can do so much harm:

If a Chiricahua tells a story about a bear or any animal or thing that can sicken him, at the end he says, "I'm talking about pollen and all kinds of fruit. Let everything be as good as ever." He makes believe that he isn't talking about that animal.

Formerly the Chiricahua would seldom say the regular word for bear. They would call it "mother's sibling." It doesn't like to be called by the regular word. It gets after you when you say that. Bear is also called "wide foot" and "large buttocks." It likes to be called "ugly buttocks" too. We call the thunder "grandfather" and the snake "yellow flowers." We spit when lightning flashes.

Of the animals which are unreservedly dangerous to those who do not "know" their supernatural power, the most important are the bear, the coyote, the snake, and the owl.

Bear.—The general attitude toward the bear, the manner in which bear disease is contracted, and some of the symptoms of the ailment are described by one man as follows:

[262] The bear, like the coyote, causes evil influence. It is killed only in self-defense, for no bear meat is eaten and we are afraid to skin a bear. If you come in

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825 753 [761] Later the stricken man died, and another informant observed:

If the vinegarroon gets in your clothes or urinates on you, red marks come out on your body, and if they go around and meet, it kills you. K. was affected by it. He claimed it got in his clothes. It usually breaks out on your shoulder.

A small black water beetle is held accountable for a well-nigh fatal sickness which results when it is swallowed accidentally. Great care is taken, therefore, to see that the drinking water contains none of these insects. Even horses are not exempt from this illness: "If you swallow one, it will kill you. I have seen [755] horses swallow it and die. I don't know any cure for it except to ask some shaman to sing for you."

To be bitten by a centipede causes alarm, for "after it stings you, you'll live one day for each leg it has. I've never heard of a cure for this."

Crow, eagle, buzzard, parrot.—A number of birds besides the owl are considered possible sources of peril, and prominent among these is the crow. One man warned against carrying crow feathers and added, "They say it makes you sick to touch its droppings or anything from it." The opinion is supported by other testimony:

[411] [237] The Chiricahua doesn't use crow feathers for arrows. Crow is one of the worst of all. The sickness you get from Crow is worse than sickness from any other bird its size. In the old days the Chiricahua wouldn't kill a crow. They didn't like the crow to fly around. They were afraid to imitate it just as they were afraid to imitate the call of the owl. The crow is not connected with dead people like the owl, but when the crow comes around they say it means that someone is going to die; they think it is a bad sign.

A certain ambivalence in attitude toward the eagle exists. [237] Eagle feathers are prized for use in ceremonial contexts. But, [262] because eagles "catch lizards and snakes," the people "can't eat the kill of the eagle" (this taboo extends to the kill of hawks as well) and "are afraid of them, wouldn't touch them." It is primarily contact with the talons or bill of the eagle that is feared.

The negative reaction has left its impress on a story of a boy who climbs a cliff, finds an eagle's nest, and brings down an eaglet. He rears the bird and teaches it to hunt for him; but when he first reaches home with it, the people say to him,

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754 [291] one way of finding them out. . . . . They say that a man is surely a witch if he is rich and yet doesn't wear clean clothes."

[147] Though one informant asserted that "witches have a peculiar odor, something like the odor of spoiled meat; if you smell it, it may have a bad influence on you," others rejected this idea.

• [262] Sensitivity to elk meat provides a test: "If you are a witch and eat elk, you throw up. Elk meat stays down in a good man."

It is not unusual for a trap to be laid for the sorcerer:

[273] There was a fellow who was considered a witch. You know that tiswin or beer that the Indians make out of corn. One shaman had a root which, if given to a witch in this tiswin or in coffee, would kill him. It wouldn't do harm to any other person. A man told me about this incident who was present when it happened. It was thought that the man to whom this was done was a witch, because shamans had often pointed to him as the man who caused sickness. So this shaman told several people privately that he was going to give the root to the witch in tiswin this time. He told the other people to go ahead and drink the tiswin, for it wouldn't harm them. When the witch came over, some of this root was put in his tiswin. The witch went home and soon had stomach trouble. He died in a few days. Other people drank the same tiswin and were all right.

754 787 The victim's guardian spirit may furnish information about the attacks of the witch:

My children and my wife all died over at the hospital. They died because the doctor can't help them in matters of witchcraft. I could tell by my dream that my wife was witched. In my dream I heard a voice that told me. Sometimes the witch appeared to me in my dream. But I could not stop it. I know who the witches who killed my wife and children were. They are dead now. In my dream I saw that some witches just talk, just go through a ceremony of words, and influence the people that way. Since that time I have not cared much about dreams; I did not care to be notified any more.

175 578 Very often none of the devices enumerated serves to ferret out the evildoer. "A man might be living with a witch and not know it; it might be his wife." The witch who so skilfully masks his identity is exposed only when a ceremony over a sick person is held by a shaman powerful enough to learn the true cause. Accordingly, the most spectacular curing rites are those which constitute a battle, not against natural indispositions nor yet against the evil influence of dangerous animals and forces, but against the sorcerer.

The word "battle" is chosen advisedly. The entire contest be-

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. . . . They make steps of pollen just like those made at the girl's puberty rite and have the patient walk through. Anyone else who wants to can walk through after the patient finishes. They call it the trail of long life.

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The ground drawing, too, may be an important feature of a particular rite. The one discussed below was used against epidemics as well as to foil the enemy.

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I do not want to draw it because I do not know it. No one transferred the power to me, and it would not be wise for me to try it. This ground drawing was used in war too. Once it was used when I was there. A regiment of cavalry and a regiment of infantry were after us. This shaman drew the picture in pollen on the ground and left it there. Then we retreated to a hill. Both regiments turned off the trail and went back by a roundabout way, though the trail was plain, and they could have kept going. That is the way the ground drawing works. When it is used like this, the enemy is unable to follow. Something happens to the enemy always. They give up before they get to the place of the ground drawing, or they cannot pass it.

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Death in a near-by home is the one event considered serious enough to halt a ceremony already started. "If there is a death in the camps, they stop any ceremony going on. They won't pray even. The ceremony has to be started over again. It can start the day after the person is buried."

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Almost without fail, at the conclusion of a ceremony, the shaman imposes some food or behavior restriction upon the patient:

A Chiricahua, in the house of another, always asks if he can do anything before he does it. His host might have had a ceremony performed after which he was told not to let people smoke before him, step over him, or do any of a number of other things. We have to be careful not to disobey any of these things and cause sickness or harm to a friend.

The shaman restricts his patients. He tells some not to eat liver, entrails, heart, head, or not to let anyone step over them, or stand to the east of them when they are sitting down, or suddenly appear behind them. Or he might tell them never to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or, if someone gives them a piece of fruit and it drops, not to pick it up again and eat it.

Usually these restrictions are scrupulously respected:

One woman here was shot. She had a curing ceremony performed over her by one who specializes in gun wounds. He told her she must not eat deer meat, and to this day she will not do so. I know her well. Once I offered her deer meat, and she would not take it.

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755 I went to visit C. I stood in front of him. He said, "Don't stand over me.
• 262 Someone performed a ceremony for me and said that no one was to stand over
[784] me."

I never eat tongue myself. I had a ceremony performed over me when I was young, and at the end of it I was warned not to eat meat from the head of any animal.

A food taboo which becomes too irksome can be ceremonially lifted, however:

The shaman tells you sometimes not to eat tongue or liver. If you don't want to keep away from this, after four days you cook liver or whatever it was he told
[788] you not to eat. Then he comes and marks it with pollen, puts it toward your mouth three times, and the fourth time you eat it. Then it is all right. This removel of the restriction is called "one can eat it again."

755 At the conclusion of the ceremony the shaman may present
751 the patient with a curative or protective amulet to hasten recovery and to prevent a relapse. This may be one of the four
[431] ceremonial gifts required by the terms of the rite, but more often it is something especial made by the shaman.[19]

Often the shaman gives the woman patient a piece of decorated buckskin to wear on her hair. A turquoise bead might be given a man and a piece of abalone shell to a woman. Sometimes a buckskin jacket or cap is made for the patient by the shaman. Sometimes it is a feather, sometimes a cross. The patient is directed
[777] to wear this after the ceremony so the disease will not come back any more. Bags
[756] of paint or pollen are sometimes worn for good luck after a ceremony. Different shamans give different things to wear.

756 Before the shaman departs on the fourth night, payment is made to him. Usually an understanding has been reached in ad-
[431] vance. Sometimes the gifts are in view during the entire last eve-
[778] ning, for supernatural power is well pleased when its ceremony is
[782] generously rewarded. More than the agreed amount may be placed before the shaman. Then, because the ceremonialist is grateful to the patient, he is expected to continue to pray for him
[578] and ritually protect him. In fact, some resentment may be felt when a shaman does not maintain interest in a case:

[19] In 1909, on the field expedition already mentioned, M. R. Harrington collected a large number of these amulets from the Chiricahua Apache. These objects are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City.

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755 At the conclusion of most snake ceremonies, as in the case of
• 262 other rites, food and behavior restrictions are imposed:
784 You must not stir boiling meat with a knife or use the knife as a spoon. If you should lie down flat on your back with your legs crossed, no one should step over your legs. A rope must not be used on a person who has been bitten. In using a rope you must not string it out toward your camp or house. You must always go out the door of the home or tent, not out of the sides. In quarreling you must use no words that have anything to do with the snake. You must not eat the marrow of leg bones. You must not eat meat from the breast of an animal.

751 Often the patient, after an attack of snake sickness, is given a protective amulet:

After you go through a snake ceremony, the shaman may make a bandoleer for you to wear, or give you a stone to wear, or make you an arm band, if you are a man. For a woman he may have a beaded strip which she should wear in her hair. These will make the patients immune so that the snake cannot harm them again.

825 Fewer data exist concerning the place of other reptiles in the ceremonialism. Of the gila monster it was remarked, "I hear it [533] mentioned in the ceremonial songs of old Chiricahua, but that's the only way it's used now that I know of," and of the turtle: [237] "Some shamans use *the shell for the giving of medicine. B. gave* [788] me some in one. He marked the shell with pollen and gave it to me four times. They say that the turtle shell cannot be hit by [773] lightning." The lizard appears in the myths as a helper of Child of the Water and the small animals in their triumphs over the monsters, and it is considered a potential source of supernatural power.

411 *Weapons.*—The ordinary protection afforded by weapons is 789 enlarged, in certain cases, to include supernatural help as well, [533] and a set of songs and prayers known as "ceremony from the gun" (the same word means gun or bow) has arisen. Sometimes [782] this ceremony is called "ceremony against the enemy."

Old Man S. was with Geronimo's bunch all through the war. . . . . He has power from the gun, they say. They say he used to get out on the bank; all the soldiers shot at him and couldn't hit him. One who went to shoot him might fall down or drop his gun; then S. would kill him instead. Another man told me he knows a gun ceremony. He, too, went through all the wars safely. Geronimo is said to have known this ceremony. He never got hurt either. Something always

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MAINTENANCE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

HUNTING

224 462 IN THE securing of sufficient food the preoccupation of the man is properly with the hunt. "They think they are doing enough by going around hunting all day and getting food together." Except for participation in occasional rabbit surrounds, women are not encouraged to show concern for matters pertaining to the hunt. "Women never go out hunting because they aren't strong and able to get around," it was explained; but another comment suggests that the idea of appropriate male and female spheres is quite as important a consideration.

[152] The Chiricahua don't like to see a man go out hunting with a woman, whether they're married or not. It's considered a disgrace. One man used to do this. He was so jealous he didn't like to leave his wife alone. The Whitetail people saw him going out hunting with his wife, and they criticized him and laughed at him.

224 Since the deer is the most important game animal, a hunting trip, unless it is otherwise stated, may be assumed to have as its goal the securing of venison. Whether or not a specific ceremony 224 precedes the hunt, certain precautions are always observed:

262 784 There are two things you cannot do before you go hunting. One is to eat onions. The other is to chew osha [*Ligusticum porteri*]. The deer will smell you if you do. Suppose you are going hunting tomorrow morning. You can't eat them tonight then. You can't even dig them the day before you are going out to hunt. [252] But the Chiricahua eat onions with deer meat when they come back from the hunt. They use the onions raw while they are eating the meat or they boil the onions with the meat.

[302] When you are going hunting you take care not to clean yourself up. Perhaps you have been eating the meat of some animal and therefore have been rubbing the grease and marrow of the long bones on your face, legs, and arms. You keep this on. And you don't put anything else on yourself that may smell; nothing sweet-smelling like perfume [i.e., "Indian perfume," such as mint] can be used at this time.

224 261 785 Fasting immediately before the hunt aids the chances for success:

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other man takes up the chase. Sometimes they rope the antelopes. Then they kill them by slitting them under the leg or throat where you have to cut anyway when skinning. 224

Then there is a surround in which mounted men participate:

When the herd is sighted, they scatter and approach it, making a big circle. Two or three men run in toward the antelopes and get them started. Then the circle closes in, and the hunters shoot or rope the animals. The men are about a hundred yards apart. Special horses, two-year-olds which are trained for hunting, are used.

Another animal which is occasionally hunted, but not as seriously as deer or antelopes, is the wapiti, or "American elk." These are few in number throughout some parts of the tribal territory (the Southern Chiricahua claim that there were none in most of their range), and the meat, perhaps because the people are less familiar with it, is not so greatly esteemed. The Central Chiricahua say that "there were plenty of elks" where they lived, however. Elk horns are too heavy to attach to masks, and informants say it is not necessary to use the heads anyway, for the elk "is not as smart as the deer and is easier to get." [262] [825]

The meat and the skins of the mountain sheep and the mountain goat are used when they can be procured. These animals are not numerous or easy to get, however, and are of limited importance in the economy.

Wood rats supplement the meat diet: 224 262

The Chiricahua hunt those big rats and eat them. Two men go to a nest. One pokes a stick in; the other waits at the other end and shoots when the rat comes out. For this they use a small arrow the same as is used for birds. It is all wood, with a sharpened point. When they get a good many rats, they pierce the legs and carry them home on poles over the shoulder. Sometimes to get them a person pokes into a hole and hits them with a stick when they come out. [411]

Opposums, considered "the best meat in the rat class," are found in Southern Chiricahua range and are shot with bows and arrows.

Cottontail rabbits are hunted and eaten, but for some reason many persons are reluctant to eat jack rabbits:

Many won't eat jack rabbit, though they will eat cottontail. I don't know why exactly. They say cottontail meat is better. It's between the taste and the looks.

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224 262 The jack rabbit is supposed to have a bad taste. I never have eaten it, but I have eaten cottontails. In Oklahoma the other Indians ate jack rabbits, but most of the Chiricahua didn't. We eat the cottontail though. I like it. It has saved me many times, that rabbit! Cottontails are good.

[184] The dislike for jack rabbit is not unanimous, apparently, for a member of the Eastern band asserted, "The Hot Springs people eat cottontails and jack rabbits."

224 [857] Rabbits are hunted assiduously by boys who are still too young to seek larger game. Grown men shoot them when other game fails and fresh food is required at once. Sometimes a communal rabbit hunt or "rabbit clubbing" is arranged.[1] Rabbits and other small furry creatures are sometimes dislodged from burrows by means of long sticks. "They use a stick to get small animals out of holes. You catch the end of it in the animal's fur and twist. Then pull out. Any kind of wood or stick will do for this. Rabbits mostly are pulled out this way. Sometimes they get away."

224 262 Only a few are fond of prairie-dog meat:

The prairie dog is sometimes eaten. Some do it for health, but others don't like it; they are afraid of it, as they are of fish. They don't like the looks of it, I guess. As I understand it, very few eat it. No one warned me against eating it, but I just haven't done so. My father has mentioned eating it, but very few of the older people do. They say that prairie dogs eat snakes, just as hogs do. They don't say you can get sick from the prairie dog as you can from the snake, but the Chiricahua just don't like it much.

[857] Squirrels sometimes serve to replenish the larder. They are seldom hunted by grown men, but the boys hunt them and thus demonstrate their ability to add to the household's resources.

[184] Although peccaries are found in some parts of the tribal range, the members of at least two of the bands—the Eastern and Central—will not eat this meat because "the peccary eats snakes." A Southern Chiricahua band member, however, tells of hunts in which the wild hogs are rounded up like rabbits and shot down with arrows. The hunters surround a brushy place, for "the peccaries are found where there is a lot of brush; when on the flats they always make for the brush." The same informant said,

[1] For a description of this see p. 76.

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"The unborn of the peccary is eaten also. One pig has lots of them." 224 262

That the wildcat was formerly eaten is both affirmed and denied. One informant classed it with wolf and fox and said, "We don't like the meat; also it is forbidden and might kill us." It is possible that some individuals used it for food. Everyone wants the skin, and so the animal is killed whenever opportunity offers.

A number of informants have agreed that mountain-lion meat is edible. In addition, the hide is the favorite material for the quiver. Consequently, no opportunity to shoot a cougar is overlooked by the hunters. [411] [237]

Infrequently the chance was afforded to hunt bison. One account tells of a long trip to a point north and east of the present site of Albuquerque and of success in hunting bison there. Occasionally one was found in the vicinity of Hot Springs and was secured by the people of that region. But bison were entirely absent from the greater part of the territory. 224 [136]

In the historic period wild cattle became abundant and were supplemented by domestic stock obtained on raids to the south. The stock introduced by the Europeans became important very early: 224 262 [136]

> Long ago there were cattle which we hunted and used. The old people say that there were some wild cattle and wild horses, wilder than deer. I don't know where they came from. Many ate burros and mules in those days; many ate horses.
>
> Before the Americans came, a few Chiricahua had cattle, and, of course, there were some with many horses. In wars with the Mexicans they would sometimes steal cattle, and that accounts for the presence of cattle among the Chiricahua. They'd herd the cattle to a river and let them stay around there and increase. Five or six or a dozen men who made the raid would divide the cattle among them, and then the cattle belonged to them personally. Then these men might have enough meat so they wouldn't have to hunt any more for a while. [231] [648]

Many animals are hunted only for their fur. Among these are the badger (from which a skin bag for holding piñon seeds and acorns is made), the beaver, and the otter. 224 237

Birds are much more significant as a source of feathers than as food: 223 262

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[186] We don't like the turkey for food because it eats insects. We think it is nasty. When I was at Fort Apache my relatives used to tell me, "Don't go around white soldiers, don't go around Chinamen. They'll feed you hog meat and turkey meat, and these eat nasty things, anything at all." I never heard that turkeys eat snakes, but they eat worms and nasty things. The Chiricahua hardly even eat quails. When they get hungry, some just have to eat birds like the dove. They may eat these when they have to, but they don't like to do it.

That all are not of one mind concerning the inadvisability of using the turkey for food is suggested by other statements, however. Said a member of the Eastern band: "The Hot Springs people eat turkey all right. Some other Indians say it lives on bugs and won't eat it, though."

Evidently the effort made to get turkeys varies too. According to one informant: "They are shot with arrows when they are seen, but they are not hunted; there is no special trip to get them." From others, though, come accounts of organized attempts to flush them: "A group of men goes along a creek to scare turkeys. Another group will be about one-half mile away on the other side where they think the turkeys will fly when frightened. They wait there and when the turkeys appear, shoot them with arrows and club them."

[533] Most informants agree that the dove is edible. One man, before singing the "dove song" of the moccasin game,[6] told a story that seems to support this:

[539] The dove used to talk. It was making a nest. Then it said it was going to paint its legs red. "Here in this nest that I build, my little ones will increase. I will go out and look for something to eat for my young ones. Anyone who kills me will be obliged to eat me." It painted its legs red so as to be easily recognized. Since then these birds have been used for food.

[857] Small birds, such as snowbirds and sparrows, are the targets of boys who are perfecting their skill with ~~arrow~~ and sling. Often the boys build a fire and roast and eat their kill at or near their base of operations. Rarely, except in times of dire want, do adults set out on bird hunts. Occasionally, mounted men chase quails to exhaustion and thus secure them in quantity. Some shoot ducks and geese for food, but not everyone will do so, for

[6] See p. 453.

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the same division of opinion concerning their suitability exists as in the case of the turkey. One person, for instance, insisted, "The Chiricahua never eat duck. They just don't like it. I never hear them say why." Yet another man just as positively stated, "The Chiricahua eat ducks, quails, geese, doves, turkeys, and prairie chickens."

Birds are desired for their feathers, and oval or peaked blinds are constructed to catch them: "The bird blind is shaped something like a tepee—the poles slant up together. You put sticks on the top of it so the birds come and sit on it. You can shoot them easily this way."

Eagle feathers are in great demand, and the hunter is always on the lookout for an eagle which has so gorged itself that it is almost helpless: "Sometimes a man is lucky and comes upon an eagle when it has eaten so much that it can't get off the ground quickly. Then the man runs at it and hits it with a club. The eagle is that way—it will eat so much that it can't fly."

Eagles are also deliberately trapped:

> Anyone can kill an eagle and use the feathers for arrows. When they find a dead animal, they put snares around the carcass to capture the eagle. They make an Indian trap. They use sinew, making loops with it which draw up tightly [slipknots] when the eagle steps in one and moves. The carcass or the meat that is used is tied down to a big rock so that the eagle cannot get it easily but must walk about a lot. These knots are all around, covered with grass. They are attached to sticks or brush. When the eagle is caught it is killed with a club, hit on the head. The eagle is not left alive intentionally, but if you hit it and think it is dead and then after it is plucked it gets up again, you leave it alone. Anyone may put out one of these traps.

One informant, a member of the Southern Chiricahua band, claims that eaglets are sometimes taken from a nest in the absence of the parent-birds, and he describes a cage in which they are reared until the feathers are ready for plucking: "They were caught on a mountain slope close to the present Arizona line. They were caught when they were small and were raised. We never caught grown-up ones. People climbed trees to get them."

The eaglets, according to this testimony, are kept in a large cage, approximately ten feet high and thirty inches wide, made of branches tied together with rawhide strips. This cage is secured

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231 to four stout poles which are sunk into the ground. Inside, near the top, are perches on which the eaglets may rest.

An Eastern Chiricahua band leader had three eagles in one house. Then another was built. There were two in there. The little eagles used to go out and come back. They ate lungs. They fought like dogs. When they had had enough to eat, they went to the top. Eagles that are raised are never killed. After they have pulled the feathers off, they let them go.

One other informant recalled having seen eagles in captivity but sharply reduced the size of the cage employed from that pictured in the preceding account. The practice of capturing eaglets alive and raising them must be quite rare, however, for a number of other elderly commentators denied knowledge of it. One man explicitly stated: "We didn't keep eagles in a cage. Many were afraid of them and wouldn't touch them. We couldn't raise [361] them. We were moving all the time, staying three days or so in one place. That's why we stored our goods in cave caches."

226 262 It is possible that some individuals of the Southern Chiricahua band or members of some of its local groups make an attempt to secure fish and eat them:

My people eat fish. There was a certain river in Mexico where my people came. There they would lift rocks in the water and shoot the fish they found [252] there with arrows. When they were traveling they just put the fish on the coals and broiled them. They also used to boil them in water. They ate fish eggs, but they ate no shell fish at all.

Another informant, an Eastern Chiricahua who lived close to the Rio Grande, explained that those with whom he lived fished whenever they could and ate any kind of fish.

262 It may be, therefore, that the dislike of fish reported by many informants is to be correlated with unfamiliarity with this kind of food and the distance from any possible supply. The intensity of the repugnance and the willingness of many to equate the fish with the snake, suggest something stronger than mere unfamili- [177] arity, however. It is more likely that the Southwestern taboo on fish was beginning to influence the Chiricahua markedly and that the alleged similarity between the fish and the snake afforded a convenient rationalization.

In an attempt to explain why his people made so little use of fish a Chiricahua acquaintance said:

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262 [825]

It is true that the old Chiricahua wouldn't eat fish. They say of fish, "They are slippery and slick just like snakes, and they are relatives to the snakes. They are relatives to the lizards and all the nasty ones." It looks just that way to them. And toads and frogs and tadpoles are classed with snakes. The Chiricahua wouldn't eat them. They never ate fish until they got to Fort Sill. Even now I don't like such things. I get a headache from them. I'm not used to such food, and it doesn't agree with my stomach.

I was up at the Ruidoso River for two years as a guard. I had to look at the passes, and those who didn't have the right ones I chased out. Those campers would bring fish to us every day. The fish were cleaned and fried. I would say to my wife, "Let's try it." We'd try a little, and then we'd have to throw it away. There were those poor fellows running themselves ragged every day trying to catch those fish, and here we were throwing them away just as soon as the people left! Even canned fish doesn't agree with me. My wife can't eat it either. There was no mention of sickness from fish though. I never heard any ceremonial songs about that. Many Indians eat fish now; they go around and fish. [753] [178]

A similar frame of mind is revealed in another account:

People did not fish when I was a boy. Fish was not eaten; it was not an Indian food in the old days. We classed fish with the snake and thought it could bite. We thought it could cause evil influence. There was no ceremony connected with it though. It is only since contact with the whites that fish is eaten. Formerly we had no separate names for different kinds of fish. [825] [177]

A younger man reaffirmed this last statement and added, "We younger people distinguish different kinds of fish. We call catfish 'fish with whiskers' and perch and bass 'fish without bones,' for instance." This young man went on to say: [825]

It is perhaps true that P.'s group might have eaten fish. They were nearer water. At Fort Sill (1894-1913) about one-third didn't eat fish still—this many at least. The old folks didn't care if the young people ate fish. I ate it. I could eat it right next to old men who didn't eat it, and they wouldn't scold. A father would not object if his son ate it, but he would object if his son ate bear meat.

It is undoubtedly true that, since fish is not so definitely an animal of "evil influence" as the bear or the coyote, its use as food is more likely to be left to individual taste. Nevertheless, if the incident that follows is taken as a guide, the young man probably underestimates the animus of many of the older people toward fish: [825]

The old people won't eat fish or pork. Some won't eat pork yet, and few will eat fish. If my mother eats a little pork, it makes her sick right away. She won't have fish around at all.

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262 Once my brother brought a can of sardines to camp. He was going to open it for lunch. My mother didn't know what he had and she brought out a plate for him to put them on. She asked him what it was. He didn't want to tell her. He held the can behind him. Then he brought it out and opened it up and spilled the fish on the plate my mother was holding. She looked at it. She didn't know what it was. It looked funny to her. She asked my brother, and he told her.

You know how those old people are. She gave a yell and threw it. It landed right in the lap of the old man. The old man just sat there and looked at it. The plate was lying there in the dirt. I nearly died laughing. My brother was angry. He said, "What did you throw them away for?" She said, "If you bring me something bad like that again, I'll throw it right in your face."

[825] "The frog is not eaten; it is classed with fish." "The frog is
[826] classed as a snake. We do not eat it. If you do, it will make you
walk like a cowboy [i.e., will make you bowlegged]." An in-
[439] formant who apparently equates frogs with snakes said: "I killed frogs and sold them to the [American] soldiers, but I never ate them myself. There were eels in the creek near Fort Sill. B. used to catch them. The soldiers bought them, but the Indians wouldn't eat them."

One voice was raised in appreciation of frogs' legs as food. The Eastern Chiricahua informant, previously quoted, who claims that his people ate fish, added: "They ate frogs' legs too. The meat tastes like chicken and is good."

THE ECONOMIC INTEREST IN RAID AND WAR

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433 For men, raiding approaches hunting in economic significance. In fact, these two pursuits may be said to be rival industries:

[224] The man who has a deer ceremony either does not go on raids or does not spend too much time on raids, so he will not lose his luck with deer. If you are too successful on raiding parties and bring back lots of booty, you become unlucky with deer; you don't see the deer and become a poor hunter.

This statement embodies a psychological and practical truism: The man who becomes engrossed in raid and war very likely has only limited time and interest to devote to the chase.

The raid is a recognized and integral aspect of the economy.
[533] This finds expression in the songs. The words of a round-dance song, for instance, repeat: "The wagon goes along, they say,

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women had to be good and behave carefully so as not to give bad luck to the man. All of a man's relatives were under this restriction.

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When a very prominent man with many relatives has been slain, or when an attack on an unguarded camp has aroused great anger, caution is forgotten. "When we are at war and out for a fight, we go right to the trail and face the enemy in the daytime. We are not particular."

Once a San Carlos Indian cut off a Chiricahua's head, and it led to much trouble and an outbreak. J. was right in the particular Chiricahua bunch when it happened.

[648]

Some Chiricahua had been away from the reservation. The U.S. army men had been after them and had offered twenty-five dollars for every hostile Chiricahua's head brought in. This bunch of Chiricahua decided to come in. They came close to the agency and were eating there. They put J. on a ridge to watch and stand guard. Finally J. was relieved by another boy, a good-looking young Chiricahua. A few minutes later, as he was sitting on the ridge with his gun across his knees, looking in the opposite direction, a San Carlos Indian crept up behind him and shot him. As soon as he shot, he was on this boy with his knife and cut his head off.

The rest of the Chiricahua came up and saw what had been done. They were as angry as could be. They found out who had done this and went down to his camp to get him. But he had been warned and got away. His wife and several children were there, though, and they killed them and left them lying right there. They went out and began shooting into other near-by San Carlos camps. They were so angry they didn't care what they did. Then they made for the hills. And so there was another outbreak.

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But ordinarily rage is tempered by reason, and the war party moves in a disciplined way:

When they start out they have two men ahead and two behind; they have scouts on every side. When they are ready to camp for the night, they send scouts ahead and in the directions to look for the enemy until dark comes. Early in the morning they do the same. These scouts come back and report.

[596]

On the march "the men of each cluster [extended family] stick together near their own leader." But, generally speaking, each person is responsible for his own welfare:

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Each individual usually takes his own provisions with him. He takes some mescal and dried meat which he carries in a buckskin or hide bag attached to his shoulder strap [bandoleer]. The fire drill, if he has one with him, can be carried in this bag too. He carries water in a container made of the intestines of animals. He just ties the ends to keep it shut. He doesn't carry a water jar, because they

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names, in order, are: "Little Eagles," "Many Leaves," "Large Leaves," "Large Fruit," "Earth Is Reddish Brown," and "Ghost Face." "Little Eagles" refers to early spring; "Many Leaves" covers the period of late spring and early summer; "Large Leaves" is midsummer; "Large Fruit" (some call this period "Thick with Fruit") designates the harvest time of late summer and early fall. By late fall the hills assume a color for which the term, "Earth Is Reddish-Brown" seems appropriate. Dread of the lifeless winter is expressed in the name, "Ghost Face." The entire year is called "one harvest." "Ten years ago would be ten harvests ago." Periods of time shorter than the six divisions with descriptive names are reckoned from new moon to new moon. "You say so many days from the beginning of the new moon," or, "So many new moons ago." 821 805

If food is to be gathered near home, the woman takes her large burden basket and works alone or with her daughter or sister. "They have a little jug to carry drinking water in while they are away from camp. Often they stay out all day. They eat any time they care to." When a long journey is necessary, a larger party of women will set out together. "They go in groups of six or so and keep their finds separately." Should the destination be so distant that the group cannot hope to return for some days, men or youths go along to protect them and to assist in the heavy work. 222 [482] [415] [264] [484]

Through most of the winter and until mid-spring the household must depend on stored vegetables saved from the preceding year. But in the spring the narrow-leafed yucca sends up a central stem which is gathered while it is still green, tender, and without blossoms. Lengths of the stalk are placed on a bed of embers and roasted until they are soft. The charred outer surface is peeled, and the stalks are eaten without further preparation. Thicker stalks are sometimes roasted in an underground oven. A hole is dug in the earth (one is described as four feet long and three and a half feet deep) and a fire is kindled in it. Stones are heated by placing them on top of the burning wood, and the oven is lined with them. The woman peels the pieces of stalk, pounds them or cuts them in half, places them on the 252 [251] [262] [221]

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252 stones, covers them with dampened grass, and heaps a mound of earth over all. If she does this in the morning, the food will be thoroughly steamed by evening.

[251] After the stalks have been cooked this way, they may be sun-dried and kept for some time, even for a year, in a parfleche. When they are wanted, they are soaked in water to soften them and eaten. Or they may be eaten immediately after they have been baked—often pounded—while they are still soft, with fruit from the broad-leafed yucca or some other fruit. This stalk is not the favorite vegetable, but it becomes important when other food is scarce.

[262] Available at this time also are the white rootstocks and the tender lower portions of the shoots of the tule. These are boiled with meat or made into a soup. "We boil the root with a soup bone as some people do turnips." The root is sometimes dried and stored.

[262] By now the clusters of white flowers of the narrow-leafed yucca are in bloom. These are gathered and boiled with meat or bones. Any surplus is boiled, dried, and stored. The buds of still another variety of yucca (unidentified) are opened and dried.

[251] [263] During the process they must be impaled on sticks "as you dry peaches; you cannot put them on a hide because they would stick to it. . . . . These are used to sweeten drinks." The drinks are various kinds of "tea" to be discussed presently.

[262] Not long after this an important food, the agave, century plant, or, as it is more commonly known, the mescal, is ready. The stalks, before any blossoms appear, are cut and roasted or pit baked like yucca stalks, but much more important as a food is the lower portion or crown. If the women live far from the

[484] place where mescal is plentiful, they make a long trip to obtain it, establish a temporary camp, and prepare it there before returning home. When many crowns are to be baked, a large pit must be dug and many rocks transported to it; therefore, men sometimes accompany the party to assist with this heavy labor.

[462] Whether men are present or not, the women are in charge of the proceedings:

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Sometimes the "heads" are carried, on horses, in loosely woven, traylike containers made of yucca, and the sun-drying is done at home. Most of the mescal is stored in the sun-dried, caked state. When a part of a dried crown is to be eaten, it is soaked in water until it softens. It may be mixed with juniper or sumac berries, piñon nuts, or walnuts for variety. The leaves have a pithy, inedible center, but the inner surface of each has a soft layer that is chewed or scraped.

Ordinarily, the woman goes out several times to gather mescal, for she must have enough for general use and for storage. Since each operation—the trip to the place where the plants grow, the roasting and drying, and the return journey—requires several days, this is a busy period. By the time the mescal stalks have flowered and the plants are unfit for use, summer is at hand, and other foodstuffs have made their appearance.

In early summer the locust tree is in flower. The woman picks the blossoms and boils them with meat or other foods, or she boils them in water, dries them in the sun, and puts them away. Then, when she wishes to use them, "she can cook them over again." The first of a number of varieties of wild onion is ready, too. Onions are eaten raw or boiled with other vegetables and meat. Later at least two other kinds are gathered. In the early part of the growing season, too, especially when other food is scarce, the woman strips off the bark from the Western yellow pine, scrapes its inner surface, and heaps together the soft, sweet material.

Though most of the sumac berries are not ripe until late summer and fall, one variety is ready now: "It [*Rhus microcarpa*] has a small red berry which is picked and brought back. The berries are spread out, and the good ones are picked out, washed, and put in the sunshine to dry. After being ground, they are mixed with mescal, and the mixture does not spoil."

From midsummer on, in certain localities, the berries of the one-seeded juniper ripen:

> They have a reddish tinge when they are ripe and fall to the ground. The women pick them up and put them in sacks or burden baskets they bring with them. When they are very ripe, they can be eaten raw, or, if they are still very hard, they can be boiled just enough to make them soft. Another way to use

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them is to boil them until they are quite soft and then mash them with the hands to get the seeds out. What is left is boiled down until just a thick juice is left. This is used more for health than food, although it is considered a regular food. It has a laxative effect, and we eat it as the white man eats prunes. It has a pleasant taste; you can eat a great deal of it, and it won't do you any harm.

In midsummer, too, the first of the edible seed-bearing plants are ready. The woman gathers the seeds by running her hand through the tops and dropping the seeds in a hide receptacle. Threshing is accomplished by working the seeds around manually in the sack. To winnow them, the seeds are poured from a tray basket to an outstretched hide below. The seeds are boiled and eaten or ground on the metate with the mano and reduced to flour from which bread is made.

Now such fruits as raspberries, strawberries, and the earliest of the wild grapes can be gathered. All these are eaten fresh. Grapes are sometimes dried and preserved, and raspberries may be crushed, dried, and kept in caked form.

In the mountains in late summer the woman finds such varied fruits and plants as the chokecherry, the mulberry, a species of potato (*Solanum jamesii*, Torr.), and wood sorrel. Chokecherries are eaten raw when they are very ripe and not infrequently are dried, ground, and stored. Dried chokecherries are soaked in water and eaten without further preparation. Potatoes are boiled and eaten soon after they are gathered or are dried, stored, and ground into flour for making bread. Mulberries are served fresh or caked and preserved. Wood sorrel is eaten raw or cooked with other greens. Another potato-like food (*Ipomoea lacunosa*) is available at about the same time. "It is like a potato in taste. It's white and looks like an onion, but it doesn't taste anything like an onion. It's about half the size of an onion. These are eaten raw. You can keep them for a couple of weeks."

During the same period, in the lowlands, such plants as the nipple cactus and the pitahaya yield their fruit. Of the latter, the more important of the two, this description is given:

This cactus is like the giant cactus, but smaller. It grows in Old Mexico. The plant is taller than a man. The fruit is as large as a man's fist. When the pod opens, it is ready to be picked. It is ready about the middle of August. The

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fruit is red and is eaten raw. The fruit is dried near the place where it is picked and after it is dried it is piled into burden baskets and brought home. Some of it is eaten fresh, but most of it is dried in the sun, caked, and stored. It never gets really dry; it is always sweet and sticky. Sometimes the fruit drops to the ground, and there are many ants in it when you pick it up.

At lower elevations the yellow fruits of the screw bean or tornillo are one of the first of the fall foods to mature. These sweet pods are eaten raw or are washed, dried, and ground into flour for making bread.

For those groups whose territory extends well to the south, the fruit of the giant cactus is available at approximately this time:

We eat the fruit raw when it is ripe. The women take a long reed stem or a pole and pick the fruit off with it, for it grows high on the plant. They cake some of it as they do mescal and yucca fruit. It never gets real dry; it is always sweet and sticky. It is ripe about the last of August and in September. When you eat it, you eat the seeds and all. The seeds are small, like those of figs.

Between the ripening of other foods, the last of the sumac berries are picked. No sooner are these stored than the broad-leafed yucca or datil fruit is ready:

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When the Chiricahua are in the hills, they prepare yucca fruit for winter food. They gather it in the fall, in the latter part of September here [at Mescalero, New Mexico]. It is a pinkish color on the outside when it is ripe. It is good to eat raw when it is ripe. When it is very ripe, it doesn't have to be roasted. It is just cut open, the seeds are taken out, and it is spread out in the sun to dry. It will keep all winter then.

But most of the fruit is picked before it is quite ripe. The women gather a large amount. They roast it on the coals. When the fruits are black on top, they are taken off, and the burned outside is peeled off. They are split in two, and the seeds are taken out. The fruit is then put on a hide and pounded. Then they put it over a container in a basket and let the juice run down. They can drink this juice or pour it over the fruit again. It makes the yucca fruit soft and sticky. After that they spread the whole mass out to dry in the sun. If rain comes, they have to cover it up. It gets dry in the sun in two days. While it is drying, they take sunflower blossoms and put them on to make it pretty. They pray while they do it.

When it is dry, this fruit can be stored. It will keep like a cracker. During the fall the women put piles of it away for emergency or for the winter. When it is wanted, it is made ready for use by soaking and is then used alone or mixed with other things.

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In the mountains at this season are gathered the sweet red berries of the algerita. When these are cooked a little, they soften to the consistency of a jelly. A portion of algerita berries is dried and kept for winter use. Currants are picked whenever the women, in foraging, come upon them. Hawthorne fruits are utilized when they are found in abundance, but the dependence upon them is slight. The berries of the alligator juniper ripen in the fall and are at once added to the household stores.

Ready at this time also is the fruit of the prickly-pear cactus:

When the fruit is ripe, while it is still on the plant, it is first cleaned of spines with a brush of stiff grass. It is then picked off with tongs of wood made by bending a branch on itself. While it is still held in these tongs, it is again brushed with the grass. Then the woman puts the fruit in her burden basket, and when she has many of them she takes them home. The fruit can be eaten fresh, or it can be dried and saved. It must be preserved by drying or eaten at once.

To dry the fruits, she splits them, takes the seeds out, and leaves them in the sun. They dry quickly if the sun is strong, but during rainy weather it takes a long time. After the seeds are removed, the pulp is mashed sometimes, and the juice that runs from it is put over the fruit again. It is kept in this caked form, for the layer of juice acts to preserve it. If it is thoroughly sun dried, when it is wanted for use, it is usually boiled. Sometimes soaking it in water without boiling will soften it enough for eating.

Sometimes the fruit is mashed, the pulp is thrown away, and the juice is kept for a drink. It is drunk while it is fresh and is considered healthful.

The mesquite beans are now large and ripe in the lowlands. These beans are used in a number of ways. The woman grinds them to flour on the metate and from this flour makes what can best be described as a pancake. Or she prepares a kind of sweet, thick gruel by boiling the beans and working the softened mass with her hands. She also cooks the whole beans with meat; then the seed coats are spit out when the food is eaten.

Walnuts, one of the important products, are sought at this time:

The Chiricahua use wild walnuts. They carry them around in a parfleche. When they want to eat them fresh, they just pick up those that have fallen on the ground. If the nuts have been there for a while and are dry, they just crack them and eat them. If there are many of them, they save some. In the winter they sit and crack nuts and give them to their children.

But if they want to mix them with other things, like mesquite beans, they do

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262 it differently. Then they gather them green, and each woman cuts a long stick,
252 six or seven feet long, just heavy enough so that a person can sit there all day long hitting the nuts and hulling them. One woman will be sitting with hers spread out on the ground before her; another will be a little distance away. They
[251] have to do this near water, near a creek, and wash them. Next they spread them out to dry for many days when the weather is good.

Then in wintertime they use the nuts with mesquite beans or mescal. They sit there and pound the nuts with a stone, shell and all, just as fine as possible. The mesquite beans are boiled and strained. For a strainer they use sticks that cross or a branch that has many twigs. This catches nearly all the coarse material. Then they put the nuts in but do not boil the mixture any more. It is ready to eat then.

[881] When this is finished, you can dip in there with your bowl and hold it to your mouth and drink it like soup. This food is used nearly always at the girl's puberty rite.

[276] It's just the opposite from chewing tobacco. When you chew tobacco, you spit out the juice and leave in the coarse stuff; when you eat this, you swallow the juice and spit out the coarse stuff.

[184] An Eastern Chiricahua added to the above that his people boil the meats of walnuts as well.

222 The nuts of the Western yellow pine are not large enough to
262 gain much attention: "We don't pick them much; just a few now and then." Of much more importance are the seeds of the
[252] piñon pine. "When the outside shell is still green, the women pick many of them, heat them, and then, when they are shaken or stroked, the little nuts come out. Some ripen on the trees by themselves, open, and the nuts fall to the ground. The women pick these up too."

252 The women parch the piñon nuts for a few minutes until "they
262 get a little darker; then they will keep." There are a number of
[251] ways of utilizing the seeds. They may be cracked with a stone and the meats eaten alone, or the meats, when a sufficient quantity of them is shelled, "are mixed with yucca fruit which has been baked on coals; it makes good eating." As in the preparation of walnuts, the seeds, shell and all, may be ground fine on the metate and mixed with other foods. Mesquite beans, mescal, yucca fruit, and sumac berries have been mentioned as other foods with which they are combined.

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The acorns of both the Gambel oak and the live oak are valuable foods, for the acorn is used in a kind of pemmican:

In the autumn the women wait until the acorns are ripe and fall to the ground. Then they gather many of them and bring them in. Some people leave them in sacks just as they are when gathered and later crack the shells with their teeth and eat the nuts.

But some roast the nuts a little, crack them, and put them out in the sun to dry. Then they use the nuts with the dry [jerked] deer meat and some fat. First they pound the dry meat on a rock and mix it with a little fat. Then they take the acorn meats and pound them up fine. After that they mix the meat and the acorns together. They shape it like meat balls, and these keep all winter. If they are camping in any place, they can have it for any meal. When it is made this way it is all ready to eat at any time. You eat it just as it is. Because it is all prepared, it is a good thing to take on a journey. When a big group is on a journey and a child is hungry, they give it some of this.

During the summer and fall the women gather various greens for flavoring stews and soups. Lamb's quarter is one of these. It is cooked with meat or bones, chili, and onions. Locust pods, the white seeds of the anglepod, the seeds of the unicorn plant, and still other varieties of wild potatoes and onions are procured at this time.

A number of grasses and other plants (among them dropseed grass, tumbleweed, pigweed, spurge, and sunflower) are harvested for their seeds. Most of these are hand threshed as previously described, or a large amount of the seed-bearing tops is cut, put on a hide, dried, and beaten with a stick. The largest stems and leaves are picked out by hand, and the remainder winnowed "by letting them fall to a hide from a tray basket." The same end may be attained by "tossing the seeds in a hide; then the leaves are blown away."

To obtain sunflower seeds in quantity, the woman fills her burden basket with the flowers and later lays them out to dry at home. When the plants are thoroughly dried, the seeds can easily be shaken out. Or, if the seeds are very ripe, the back of the sunflower head is shaken or is given a sharp blow with a stick, and the seeds fall into a burden basket which has been placed under the plant. These seeds are ground up and are added

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222 252 262 [251] to meat dishes to form a gravy, or they are made into flour for bread baked in hot ashes. Sunflower seeds and other seeds are often placed with hot coals in a tray basket and "worked around" until they are parched.

824 [221] In the fall when the tule is yellow with pollen, the tops of the plants are cut off, brought to camp, and dried. Then the dry tops are shaken or struck over an outspread buckskin. Pollen is gathered, without special ceremony, from other plants and from trees by shaking them after placing a piece of well-tanned, uncolored buckskin to catch it. Buckskin is always the proper receptacle. It is said that "pollen would go through cloth," but more important is the feeling that "it would be wrong" to use anything but buckskin for pollen bags and containers.

222 462 [221] From early spring to the onset of winter, the woman gathers fruits and vegetables which grow at different elevations and in different areas. She does not keep at this task steadily, for she has many other duties. But she must be ready at the report of a good natural harvest to leave at once for the region where it is. Often it is near by; but many times the site is so far distant, and the work ahead so time-consuming, that the entire household goes with her and sets up a temporary camp. Using this as a base, the husband hunts while his wife gathers the wild crop that has drawn them there. Not infrequently more than one household or an extended family consisting of a number of households temporarily leaves the larger encampment or local group on such an errand. Thus, in order that the woman may obtain the various foods in the order in which they mature, the household remains a mobile unit, ready to detach itself from the local group at short notice and to rejoin this group or another just as easily.

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222 While the women are foraging, they are on the lookout for beehives:

[824] Honey is found in the stalks of mescal, sotol, and the narrow-leafed yucca. The bee deposits the honey in the stalk. The bee which does this is a big yellow one. The women search for honey in these stalks. They gather it in the fall. They split the stalk to find it. It's like candy. I used to be great for honey!

Honey is also obtained from a large yellow bee that nests in the ground. To secure this store, the device of allowing the bees to

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emerge one by one and killing them as they come out is employed. A ceremonial touch is given the unearthing of these ground hives. "When the Chiricahua come upon one of these nests, they mark a big circle and say, 'May you be as big as this.' Then they open it up."

When hives are discovered in trees or in logs, a smudge fire is used to smoke the bees out. The co-operation of a man skilled in the use of the sling is required when hives are found among the rocks in cliffs. "He throws at it with a sling and brings it down. The bees leave the hive. Then the people go and get the honey. We put honey in drinks and eat it with bread." The bees which nest in the cliffs and bluffs are described as smaller and darker in color than the others. Sometimes a hive is wrapped in a hide and brought home before it is opened.

THE COOKING AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT PRODUCTS

The woman is not only responsible for the preparation and storage of the food which she herself collects but is expected to take charge of the meat which the man contributes to the household:

A man hunts and butchers the game. He brings it in to the woman. After that it's her job to take care of it.

I never heard of a man cooking when his wife was around in the old days. He doesn't now either. Getting water is a woman's job too. I don't see any men doing it even now. The same is true of getting and cutting wood. The men sit around and smoke and tell stories when they are at home.

Certain parts of an animal are seldom eaten. Ritual restrictions placed upon individual members of the household must be kept in mind too:

Some people ate pancreas a long time ago, I believe. I'm not sure. Now they don't do it. Some shaman started telling people not to eat this and that, and now they can hardly eat anything from the inside, it seems.

The Chiricahua does not like to eat any meat from the head.

It is dangerous to eat the heart. As a general rule the Chiricahua do not eat the heart of an animal. I think to myself, "Well, I don't know what there is to it, but I won't do it because it looks dangerous." My wife won't do it either.

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262 Ceremonial considerations, too, govern the consumption of eggs, particularly for women:

[842] We always ate eggs. Some women won't eat eggs for fear of getting children, however. But this is according to the shaman's directions. We eat the eggs of the quail and duck.

252 262 Those who do eat eggs prefer them boiled or roasted in hot ashes:

Some people eat the eggs of the quail, the duck, and other birds. A good many quail eggs are found together. The eggs are boiled, or a fire is made, the ashes are pushed aside, the eggs are put in there, and the ashes are put back over them.

Most meat is prepared by broiling over an open fire or by boiling, though some of it is pit baked. In the common broiling processes the meat is suspended over the coals with a stick held in the hand, or it is placed on top of the hot coals and turned at intervals. Sometimes it is cooked by placing it on a flat rock which borders a hot fire, while another rock, lying perpendicular to the first, holds in the heat. The most choice portion of meat is the fat part "on top of the ribs" next to the skin.

The favorite method of cooking wood rats, rabbits, and prairie dogs is to bury them in hot ashes before skinning them, and then to skin and eviscerate them when they are well roasted. But one informant, in describing how rabbits may be cooked, said: "Throw the whole rabbit on the coals. When it is partly cooked, take it off, skin it, take out the insides, and put it back on the coals to finish." Rats are sometimes skinned and cleaned before being roasted in hot coals. Wood rats and rabbits are also boiled, but this is a less popular mode of preparation.

Mountain lion or peccary meat, when it is prepared for those who will eat it, is roasted or boiled in the same manner as deer, antelope, or elk meat.

For those who have no aversion to eating any part of the head, it is cooked in a heap of hot coals or is steam baked in a small pit: "My people put the deer head in the fire, cover it with ashes, and let it cook. They break the eyes first. That is their way. It is done for good luck." The pit-baking method resembles the way in which mescal is prepared:

[825] [777]

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When the head is used for food, one way to fix it is to dig a hole, line it with rocks, and build a fire in there. It makes lots of ashes. Put the head in on top of the ashes and grass on top of the head. Sprinkle the grass with water and cover with dirt. Let it roast a day or a night. Usually the tongue is taken out first. 252 262

Sometimes the feet, liver, and entrails are placed in the earth oven with the head and are cooked with it for a day or a night.

The pit is used, too, for cooking fetal deer and antelopes, which are considered a delicacy. "The unborn of deer and antelopes are good eating. The meat is soft and has a good taste. We don't steam grown animals in an underground oven. But we do do it to a deer not yet born. This can also be prepared like any other meat, however."

Although the intestines are not so well liked as other parts, the hunter usually brings them home:

The intestines are much better if the animal is fat. We don't care much for the intestines anyway if we have plenty of other meat. If the hunter is loaded up on returning from the hunt, he does not bother with the intestines, especially if the animal is not fat. When he brings the intestines home, the hunter turns them over with the other meat to the woman who is going to cook it. She takes the outside off, working downward and squeezing out any waste left as she does so. Then she cooks them without washing them. Now the young people turn them inside out and wash them. [178]

Intestines are cooked over the coals. Another good way to cook them is to stuff a piece with meat and fat. The woman puts sticks through each end so the filling won't come out. Then she puts it on a hot stone by the fire to cook. The windpipe of an animal is stuffed in this same way too. But the intestine is used just in an emergency when food is scarce. Now when we kill a sheep we throw away the intestines. We save only the liver and sometimes the heart from the inside.

Liver is usually thrown on the coals of an open fire and roasted. Sometimes a sort of "blood sausage" is made. The hunter fills the paunch with the blood of the animal he has killed and brings it home. Then the woman "adds fat and onions and puts it in the coals or in a pot, cooking it until the blood gets thick and tastes like liver. She punctures the stomach so it won't explode. She puts in some of the little red chili peppers that grow in the mountains of Old Mexico. These are small, like marbles." [263] When it is not used in this way, the stomach is seldom eaten:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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252 262 "The stomach isn't often eaten. Now when we butcher a cow, the stomach is thrown away."

Birds that are considered edible are most often boiled. Turkeys are eviscerated, plucked, and then boiled, for instance.

251 [462] It is the woman's task, also, to preserve any surplus meat by "jerking" it:

> She takes the thick parts, cuts them thin, and hangs them up to dry in the sun. To use the meat after it is dried, she pounds it up with a stone. It can be mixed with fat then and eaten like this without being cooked. Or even without the fat it is used on the march and in emergencies. When the people are in no hurry, this pounded meat can be added to soup, boiled in water, or fried. It will soften when boiled in water. This dried meat, in strips or in pounded form, can be kept in caches or carried in sacks. Jerked meat, when the people are camping in one place for a time, is laid over the higher limbs of a near-by tree.

THE PREPARATION OF BEVERAGES

273 462 [212] The preparation of beverages, both alcoholic and nonalcoholic, is classified with cooking and is, therefore, the task of the woman. Of tiswin-making it was said: "A man would never [558] make tiswin. It would lower his standing. One man used to [156] make it, but he was a roughneck, and didn't care about his standing. He lowered himself many times."

272 The juice of the prickly pear is occasionally drunk, but "for health" rather than for quenching thirst. Drinks which are compared to commercial coffee and tea are described:

> In those days when coffee was scarce, some people used the bark of different trees, such as oak [Gambel oak] to make a drink. Some used a plant for tea. It is [824] better than the tea you buy. The English name for it is lip fern. It grows all around here. There is another plant [cota] that is used for tea too. To make it, some is just broken into convenient pieces, put in a pot, boiled, and the water drained off. It is about the same color as store tea and tastes much the same.

273 [824] Alcoholic beverages are made from mescal, sotol, mesquite, and, more recently, from maize and wheat. Tiswin, the maize drink, is the only one of these beverages which is made or consumed in appreciable quantities. [554] The people have become very fond of this mild beer, and the services and company of a woman who can make it well are in constant demand.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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It is possible that all these alcoholic beverages were inspired by the customs of Mexican Indians and the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south, as is suggested in this recipe for a sotol drink:

> There is a story that the Mexicans were making a drink out of sotol. I don't know whether the Indians used to make it or not, but I guess they did because I used to hear the old men say that it makes a good drink. To make it, roast the crown of sotol in an underground oven just as mescal is roasted for food. Then mash it up. Squeeze the juice out. Let the juice stand, sometimes in a hide in the ground, until it ferments. If the weather is warm, it does not take more than a day after it is standing. Then strain it, and it is ready to use.

In much the same way a drink is made from fermented mescal juice:

> Roast the mescal in a pit just as if you were going to eat it. Pull off the outer leaves and cut the soft inner part into small pieces. Pound them, put the pounded mescal in a hide, and bury the hide in the ground. Cover this and let it ferment for two days. Then take it out and squeeze it by hand and mix the juice with some water. It will bubble for a day or two, and then it is ready. It gets strong.

The drink from mesquite beans is no more difficult to prepare:

> The women know how to make a drink out of mesquite beans by boiling them, draining off the water when they are soft, mashing the beans, and letting the material stand and ferment.

The favorite drink, however, is tiswin, or "gray water," a weak corn beer. The maize used in its manufacture was obtained by trade or theft from Mexican Indians, Pueblo Indians, and white settlers before reservation days. Tiswin is considered the most nourishing of the beverages and is often spoken of as a food, because its mild stimulation when taken in moderate quantities has helped many a person withstand the rigors of travel and want. "Many used tiswin for food in the old days. Many even gave it to children when they didn't have anything else to feed them." Tiswin is also considered the appropriate beverage to serve during any social occasion.

> To make tiswin the woman takes mature corn and shells it. She wants it good and dry to start with. She soaks it in water all night. In the morning she puts grass in a long trench, puts the corn kernels on top of this, and lays another layer of grass over it. On top of this she may throw some dirt, or she may just put a

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Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[11] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants—each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[11] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

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They tell this story of a certain man. They say he was J.'s grandfather. He married and when he and his wife went to bed the first night, he just turned away from her. She didn't think much of it at first. Then he did the same thing the second night. Every night she thought he was coming to her, but he turned the other way instead. He did this for seventy-five nights, and then she left him. [586]

BIRTH CONTROL, BARRENNESS, AND FERTILITY RITES

842
A childless marriage is considered a great misfortune, and [581] sterility is an accepted cause for divorce. Sterility in a woman is [586] sometimes attributed to a ceremony conducted over her in girlhood by envious or scheming adults.[3] But often a disappointed husband wonders whether his wife "has hired a man or woman who knows herbs and a ceremony to make her sterile, so that she won't be bothered by children:"

I have heard old people say that some women can perform a ceremony for another woman, and she will have no children no matter how many men have intercourse with her. Girls of about the age of puberty go through it, and older women who have too many children go through it too. They have a medicine to drink and a ceremony that goes with it that will prevent birth forever. Certain people practice this ceremony. It has to be paid for like any other ceremony.

Various methods for the prevention of pregnancy have been described. "Rock crystal is used as a medicine when a woman [298] does not want a child. The rock is ground up fine, and some of the powder is put in a drink. There are prayers and a ceremony connected with this, but I do not know them." A certain variety [824] of small prickly-pear cactus fruit, because it is rare and its fruits are said not to ripen, is magically associated with these practices.

Food or behavior restrictions imposed as a part of such cere- 842 monies must be carefully observed. "If a woman is avoiding 262 pregnancy by keeping away from some food or drink, such as honey, and breaks this fast, she will become pregnant." It is [237] noteworthy that honey should be specifically mentioned as one of the foods prohibited if a woman wants no children, for beeswax is said to be "used ceremonially to cure sterility in women."

Because of the prevailing desire for children and the insecu- 842 rity of a childless woman, fecundity ceremonies are of much more frequent occurrence. In one of these rites the practitioner cere-

[3] See pp. 80–81.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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The Sacramento Mountains, lying east of the southern part of the Tularosa Basin, form about fifty miles of its mountain wall and consist essentially of a great plateau rising in places to a height of more than nine thousand feet, descending gently eastward toward the Pecos Valley. On the west, however, it breaks off abruptly. The canyons are steep and short. Because the crest of the mountain is near the west side of the range, most of the drainage is eastward toward the Pecos River; only a narrow belt of the area sends its waters toward the west *(14:26)*.

The dominant vegetation of these first two mountain ranges, utilized by the Mescalero Apache, is piñon pine, one-seeded juniper, and western yellow pine. In the third range mentioned, the Guadalupe Mountains, are to be found the important mescal and sotol in abundance. On Meinzer and Hare's *(14:194)* map showing zones of native vegetation, in a portion of the Tularosa Basin, mesquite is a dominant plant, and it will be seen later that both the mesquite and yucca of this basin constituted important sources of food for these Indians.

Sulphur Spring Valley, together with the rest of that part of Arizona which lies south of the Gila, was purchased from Mexico in 1853 and until about 1873 was occupied exclusively by the Chiricahua Apache. The trough occupied by Sulphur Spring and Arivaipa Valleys is bordered by two parallel mountain chains which extend from the Gila River to Mexico. Included in the east chain are the Chiricahua Mountains, the largest in the region, which formerly constituted a favorite dwelling place of the Chiricahua Apache. In fact, the name Chiricahua was at first applied only to the Indians ranging in the vicinity of these mountains. These mountains extend southward from Apache Pass about thirty miles to the head of the San Bernadino drainage, twenty miles north of the Mexican boundary. The range is massive and in the northern portion rugged, although to the south, where it is wider and more massive, the crest line is remarkably even and a considerable portion of it more than nine thousand feet above sea

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and his divine mother, and its execution was, therefore, a matter of learning by rote the directions which these two laid down.[4]

HUNTING

Something has already been said about the hunt in connection with our discussion of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings. Apache hunting customs are so interlarded with belief and ritual observances that only the briefest outline can be suggested here.

When the Apache boy is still very young, a close male relative provides him with a small bow and blunt arrows. With these the boy practices, trying to shoot birds and small mammals. When he succeeds in making his first kill, he marks its heart with a cross of pollen and swallows it raw and whole. At about the age of puberty he hunts in the company of an older and more experienced man for larger game. When he kills his first deer, antelope, or elk, his companion marks the boy's moccasins or face with blood from the heart of the animal.

The Apache ate the flesh of deer, antelope, elk, mountain sheep, cotton-tail rabbits, opossum, and wood rats. The buffalo was hunted by the Mescalero, as we have noted. Many would not touch jack-rabbit flesh. Some ate mountain-lion flesh and peccary, but many would not taste peccary, and mountain-lion was eaten by most in a ceremonial context only. Bear was eaten only by those who had a ceremony from the bear or by those who were consuming it ritually. Some ate squirrel flesh, and some would not taste it. The same was true for the prairie-dog and ringtail cat *(Bassariscus astutus flavus)*. Birds were not in high favor as food. As far back as can be remembered many Apache would not eat turkey, quail, and dove. Fish was another food upon which the Apache were not of one opinion. The members of at least one Chiricahua band did not eat fish before White contact. It is claimed, on the other hand, that

4. For a more complete discussion of the Apache conception of supernatural power see Opler (18).

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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262 some Mescalero and some Chiricahua did partake of fish. [179] After White contact, horses, mules, and wild steer were added to the diet.

[825] [224] There were many animals, such as the mink, beaver, muskrat, and weasel, which were not used as food but which were sought for their skins or because their body parts were 223 of ceremonial import. Birds such as the eagle, turkey, and turkey buzzard were shot or snared for their feathers or body parts.

224 Head masks were used in stalking deer and antelopes, and head nooses were occasionally strung in the trails for deer. Antelopes were run to exhaustion by relays of men [223] mounted on fast horses. Oval bird blinds were built at water holes, and from them the hiding hunter would shoot the birds he wanted as they came for water. Eagles and turkey vultures were taken in snares set around the carcass of some dead animal. Occasionally a rabbit surround was held, in which old and young participated and shot or clubbed the prey. The ordinary manner in which a man hunted for larger game, however, was to go out by himself or with a companion, depending upon his knowledge of the habits of the game to lead him to the place where an animal might be browsing, and from there to track it, approach it without being discovered, and dispatch it with a well directed arrow or two.

224 576 Every aspect of the hunt is governed by rule for the Apache. If he shoots a deer and another man is with him at the time or comes up at that moment, etiquette decrees that he step aside and allow his companion to help himself. The newcomer is entitled to the hide and as much of the meat as he desires. Ordinarily he takes the hide and half of the flesh. If two hunters come upon a third who has just made a kill, they race for the carcass, and the one who touches it first is entitled to the hide. Should both touch the kill at [526] the same time, the issue is decided by a wrestling match between them.

224 736 The successful Apache hunter must not turn away the widow or the needy woman empty-handed when he returns

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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with his nails. He obeyed a number of food and behavior restrictions during these journeys. He spoke in a special "war-path language" that had been taught him, in which all sacred subjects and objects that have to do with the raid and war-path were referred to by other than the ordinary terms. Thus a horse was called "one with nose to the ground," pollen was called, "it renews life," and a mountain in enemy country was called, "one I have not seen before." During these first four expeditions the boy had to obey every order of the warriors. He went for the water, built the fires, cared for the horses, and stood watch over the camp. He was not expected to share any of the fighting or dangers of these first four journeys, but when he went for the fifth time, with his apprenticeship and boyhood behind him, he felt obligated to act with conspicuous bravery.

Apache war dances and victory dances were vigorous representations by the warriors of the battle to come or the conflict from which they had just emerged. A large fire was kindled in the evening at a level place. To the side of it singers squatted before large pieces of rawhide. The singers beat the hide with sticks and began the war songs. They would call the name of the warrior and ask him to show what he would do or had done. With a bound the warrior named would appear before the fire in full battle array, and by flourishing his weapons, dodging dexterously to avoid the enemies' arrows, and engaging in a pantomime of the encounter, he would depict his prowess in war. Then others would be called until all those who were connected with the expedition had a chance to participate.

Women watched the dancing from a little distance and occasionally uttered a high-pitched, keening-like cry which indicated applause, but no woman took part in the dance. During this dance all women had to be addressed as White-Painted Woman, the most prominent character of her sex in Apache mythology and the mother of the culture hero.

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PLANTS USED BY THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE FOR FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

Foods

The stately Agave, a characteristic feature of desert vegetation of southwestern United States, constituted a very important source of vegetal food for these Apache. Several native species were utilized, but the most abundant one in the area was *Agave parryi*, commonly known as mescal or century plant (although these common names apply equally well to several other species). Contrary to popular opinion, the Agave bloom in much less than one hundred years; however, each plant blooms only once, after which the leaves wither and die. Around the dead plants are usually to be seen a number of young plants formed from suckers of the parent plant. It is from the food itself, known as mescal, prepared from *Agave parryi*, that the Mescalero Apache have been given their name *(28:*455).

Although not so extensively as formerly the Apache women still make expeditions to regions where Agave grows in abundance for the purpose of collecting the edible portions of the plant. These visits are usually made in late May or early June when the reddish flower stalks begin to appear and the plants are most palatable. Plants not blooming are known as "man" plants; those bearing a flower stalk are designated as "woman," and the Indians advise against using the "man" plants for food since they are bitter and spoil all mescal with which they are baked. This is because the "man" is smoking and the smoke permeates all the mescal in the pit. The "man" changes into "woman" when it flowers, then dries up and is gone.

The crowns of the mescal plants are dug out with three-foot sticks cut from oak branches *(Quercus* sp.) and flattened at the end. This end, when pounded with a rock into the stem of the plant just below the crown, permits the crown to be removed readily. A broad stone knife is used

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
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noon of this day so as to prevent rain. The following morning all the mescal is removed. 252

While the mescal is roasting the women are supposed to stay away from their husbands, and if it is not completely roasted when removed from the pit the Indians believe the women have disobeyed; also that the men should have known better. This is somewhat similar to the view held by the Pima regarding the roasting of mescal, for when the crowns were not cooked thoroughly the difficulty was attributed to the incontinence of some of the members of the party (*25*:70; *4*:11). [834] [171]

The pulpy centers of the black, roasted crowns are released from their charred leaf bases and pounded vigorously into thin sheets on a rock. This brown, juicy pulp is spread out to dry on "mescal cradles," very loosely woven shallow or tray baskets made from the leaves of *Yucca elata*, and in these the prepared mescal is carried home. Unfermented mescal juice is often sprinkled over mescal when being dried. This gives it a glaze which aids in preserving it. It may be eaten as soon as baked or dried and stored for future use in hide containers (parfleches). When wanted, the desired amount is cut off, soaked in water, and when softened the water is squeezed out and the mass eaten without further preparation. A piece of crown is cut off and chewed and the inner side of the leaves chewed and scraped, much as we eat globe artichokes. When the pithy center of the leaf is reached it is discarded. Mescal is sweet, having an agreeable taste somewhat like molasses, and a mild laxative effect. [415] [824] [251] 262 [251] [415] [252]

Many are the combinations in which mescal is used. After the dried product has been softened by soaking it is kneaded together with ground piñon seeds or walnuts (at present peanuts may be used) until the whole is of a doughy consistency; it is then ready for consumption. Mescal mixed with juniper berries (*Juniperus scopulorum*) is another favorite food, while the fruits of the three-leaved sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) are also ground with mescal and the mixture dried and stored for future use. Marcy (*13*:201), 252 262 [251] [137]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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252 writing of Apaches in the vicinity of the Guadalupe moun-
• 262 tains, made the following comment in the year 1849 concerning the preparation of mescal: "... we have this evening for the first time seen the Maguey plant which constitutes almost the only vegetable food that the Apaches and southern Comanches get for a great portion of the year. They prepare it by boiling it until it is soft, then mash it into a paste, and I am told that in this form it makes a very palatable, nutritious food." In view of the fact that no record has been encountered elsewhere of mescal having been pre-
[114] pared by boiling, and present day Indians have no knowledge of such preparation, it is possible that Marcy had some other plant in mind.

[137] Another well known desert plant, sotol *(Dasylirion wheeleri)* was utilized in much the same way as mescal. The crowns were gathered when the flowers were beginning to emerge, prepared in the same way as was mescal and
[251] baked for the same length of time. When baked they were removed from the pit, stripped, pounded to a pulp on a rock, and spread out to dry on "mescal cradles." The product was usually saved for winter, when it was eaten like a cake. Sotol crowns were not so desirable for food as those of mescal since they are rather hard and woody, only the youngest and most tender portions being edible.

[137] Occasionally the emerging sotol flower stalks, as well as those of bear grass *(Nolina microcarpa)*, mescal *(Agave parryi)*, and amole *(Yucca glauca)*, were removed, placed on a bed of embers and roasted for about fifteen minutes, after which the outer charred portion was stripped off. The central edible portion was white, soft, sweet, and quite palatable and was regarded as the most delicious portion of the plant. These stalks might also be boiled or eaten raw. Just as the stalk came into bloom it was removed from the plant, peeled, cut into pieces and boiled. It was then dried and stored to be used as a vegetable.

[137] Still another characteristic plant of portions of the American Southwest is the narrow-leaved soapweed or palmilla *(Yucca elata)*. The crowns of this species were gath-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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The crowns of this species were gathered any time from the middle of March to the end of summer, the portion of the stem from the ground to the leaves being peeled and baked overnight in an underground oven in a manner similar to that in which mescal was prepared. The yellow-to-brown baked product was known as *nigahe*. After being dried in the sun, broken into pieces, and softened in water the rather sweet product was ready to be eaten. The tender central leaves of the related datil *(Yucca baccata)* were cooked in soups, boiled with meat, and used in various similar combinations.

The large flowers of the narrow-leaved *Yucca elata* were also boiled and eaten as a vegetable, but the less palatable ones of the broad-leaved *Y. baccata* were eaten only if they could be obtained before the summer rain, since the Apache maintain that they are bitter thereafter.

The fruits of several species of Yucca were also utilized as food. The somewhat banana-shaped fruits of the datil *(Y. baccata)*, as well as of the palma *(Y. macrocarpa)* were gathered before they were fully ripe, laid on grass *(Andropogon furcatus)* on the ground, covered with the grass, and allowed to finish ripening in the sun. After roasting in hot ashes the hard black covering was stripped off, the fruit split lengthwise and the seeds removed. The white pulp was then ground and made into large cakes, which might be stored indefinitely. Frequently the roasted fruit was pounded to pulp on an animal hide and allowed to drain in a basket placed over a pan. The juice might be drunk or poured over and mixed with the cake pulp, making the latter soft and sticky as well as aiding in preserving it. In either case the pulp was spread on Yucca leaves to dry for two days in the sun, being always adorned with sunflower blossoms to "make it pretty." The Indians prayed while placing the sunflowers, the ceremonial significance being that the sunflower was used as a symbol of the fructifying influence of the sun, and this use constituted a prayer that the sun continue to make the yield plentiful year after year. The Mescalero Apache tell of a Yucca which grows near El Paso and has a "white" fruit and sweet sticky buds. They were

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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263 picked, cut open, dried on sticks, and used in sweetening different foods.

262 [178] The fruits of various genera of cacti are still used as food but no longer constitute an important article of diet among these Apache. Formerly the Chiricahua Apache, [137] who ranged in western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and to the south in Old Mexico, utilized as food the fruit of the sahuaro or giant cactus *(Carnegiea gigantea)* and of the organ-pipe cactus or pitahaya dulce *(Lemaireocereus thurberi)*. Their name for it was *madaya*, an Apache corruption of pitahaya. [171] The gathering and utilization of these fruits by the Chiricahua Apache was not unlike that reported by Castetter and Underhill *(5:21)* for the Papago; [184] the reader is referred to that paper for a discussion of the subject. The Mescalero Apaches never have used these species as they do not grow within their present or past range.

252 262 [413] [824] [251] [824] The ripe fruit of a number of species of Opuntia, prickly pear cactus, was commonly utilized as food. The ripe fruits, or tunas, were removed with a pair of wooden tongs, made by doubling a pliable branch, and cleaned of spines with a brush of stiff stems of sacaton grass *(Sporobolus wrightii)* while held with the tongs. The fruit was then placed in burden baskets and taken home to be eaten fresh or dried and stored. To dry, the fruit was split lengthwise, freed of seeds, and placed on big blue stem grass *(Andropogon furcatus)* in the sun. Sun-dried fruit was usually boiled before eating, although soaking in water sometimes softened it [251] enough for use. Sometimes, after the seeds were removed, the fruit was mashed into a pulp and stored in this caked [953] form. Many of the Indians of the Southwest contend that these tunas or nopales must be eaten with discretion as too much of the fruit causes a fever; Bourke *(2:44)* corrobor- [222] ates this. The Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache women [482] collected the tunas in large baskets carried on their backs, suspended from a tumpline which rested on the upper part [251] of the chest. The split fruit was spread out to dry in the sun. Tunas formerly constituted a very important Apache food.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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food. The fruits of the hedgehog cactus *(Echinocereus coccineus)*, the salmon-flowered hedgehog *(E. lecanus)*, the desert strawberry *(E. fendleri)*, the golden spined strawberry *(E. chrysocentrus)*, and the rainbow cactus *(E. rigidissimus)* were gathered occasionally and eaten fresh. Several species of *Neomammillaria*, including the sunset cactus *(N. grahami)*, the snowball pincushion *(N. olivia)*, and the horned toad cactus *(N. mainae)* were at times eaten without preparation, although fruits of the sunset cactus were often dried and stored for winter use, when they were cooked before being eaten.

Mesquite *(Prosopis glandulosa)* is one of the most widespread and best known plants of the Southwest and its sweet, nutritious fruits have been and still are rather extensively used as a source of food. The beans of the mesquite were gathered, boiled, pounded on a hide or ground on a metate, the mixture placed in a pan and worked with the hands until it attained a thick consistency. Formerly the raw beans were ground on a metate into flour, at present a meat grinder is used for this purpose. In either case the seed coats were winnowed from the flour. The mesquite flour was usually made into bread as well as into a sort of pancake, which these Indians regarded as most delicious. Frequently the beans were cooked with meat, and the seed coats spit out as the combination was eaten. Gregg *(8:*102), evidently referring to these Apache of New Mexico, wrote that the mesquite pod was ground for flour with which to make their favorite pinole.

Occasionally the pods containing the seeds were boiled in water until the mixture turned red, after which the pods were taken out and mashed by hand, then put back in the container and boiled again until the water had been almost all boiled off. This constituted a sort of pudding.

Similarly the yellow fruits of the screw bean or tornillo *(Strombocarpa pubescens)* were extensively gathered, dried, and stored in sacks. The pods, which are somewhat sweeter than those of the mesquite, might be chewed and eaten raw as a delicacy but they were more commonly dried,

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252 washed, ground into flour, and made into a sort of bread.
262 Both this and the mesquite bread are still extensively used by these Apache. This was also reported by Bourke *(2:*50) and by Standley *(28:*458).

252 In the fall of the year the pods of the New Mexican
251 locust *(Robinia neomexicana)* were occasionally eaten raw.
262 However, they were more often cooked, stored, and utilized
137 similarly to those of the mesquite. The large clusters of pink flowers were gathered in late June, boiled, and eaten as a vegetable; or they might be stored in bags, and when wanted, re-cooked.

252 The Apache also utilized as food the small wild potato
262 *(Solanum jamesii)*, common in the valleys, as well as *S.*
137 *fendleri*, found usually in the mountains. The potatoes of the former species were usually gathered in August, while those of the latter species were not gathered until the end of September. They were boiled unpeeled and thus eaten. The *S. jamesii* product was sometimes dried, stored, and later ground into flour for making bread.

The tuberous, rather sweet, but tough roots of the Indian potato or *camote de raton (Hoffmanseggia densiflora)*, which were to be found growing only on the flats, were eaten either raw or cooked.

All species of oak, except one, go under the name *tcintcile; Quercus grisea* was known as *tcintcile donagogade*, "oak that never dies," and its acorns were used for food as were those of the Gambel oak *(Q. Gambelii)* although the fruits of the latter are not so sweet as those of the live oak and were, therefore, not as extensively used. In any event
[251] the acorns were frequently gathered when ripe, roasted slightly, then pounded and mixed with dried meat or fat and the mixture stored away in hide containers. The fruit might also be eaten raw. Walnuts or nogales *(Juglans major)* ripened in September, when they were gathered,
[251] pounded with clubs to remove the hulls and washed. The nut meats were often eaten raw, but were at times mixed with mesquite gravy or ground and combined with roasted mescal, and the mixture stored. The Warm Springs Apache

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(a Chiricahua band) at present prepare the meats by boiling in water. 252 262 139

The seeds of the piñon pine *(Pinus edulis)*, which ripened in October, were very extensively gathered for food before they fell from the tree. The "nuts" were either eaten raw or roasted for a few minutes in a pan so they would keep, then shelled. Often they were mixed with pulp from the fruits of yucca to make a pudding. When used raw they were ground, rolled into balls, and eaten as a sort of delicacy. These Apache did not permit their pregnant women to eat piñons, lest the child would be born with fat all over the body and make delivery difficult. [843] [845]

In times of food scarcity the seeds of the western yellow pine *(Pinus scopulorum)* were utilized but they never constituted an important article of diet on account of their small size. They were ground, the edible portion rolled into balls and eaten raw. Those of the limber or western white pine *(Pinus flexilis)* were larger and might be utilized but were likewise of little importance since the species was not abundant. Formerly the seeds were gathered before they began to fall, by shaking from the cones, but never before fully ripened. They were then roasted and hulled, or sometimes the seeds ground, shell and all, and eaten.

It might be well in this connection to mention the use of pine bark as a source of food by the Apache. The inner bark of *Pinus scopulorum* is quite sweet and palatable and has often been utilized as food, especially when other foods were not abundant. Portions of bark were stripped from the tree and the inner bark scraped off. Hrdlička *(12:22)* referred to it as being baked in the form of cakes. Formerly these Indians cut out large squares of bark with a long pointed stick and scraped off the inner bark with a smaller, sharpened piece of wood. It was usually boiled, or it might be chewed and eaten raw, but in this state it was rather difficult to digest. If boiled for a considerable period of time the sugar would crystallize out. The bark of large aspen trees *(Populus tremuloides)* was also utilized in the same [413]

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way. Children commonly ate the sweet bark of sumac *(Rhus cismontana)* as a delicacy.

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Not unlike the above was the obtaining of sugar from the box elder maple *(Acer negundo)*. In olden times, before sugar was easily obtainable commercially, these Indians secured material for sweetening by boiling the inner bark, and outer portions of the wood just beneath the bark, until the sugar which it contained crystallized out. Also scrapings from the inner bark were dried and placed in the *xel* (parfleche) for winter use. Likewise sap from the New Mexico maple *(Acer neomexicana)* was collected and boiled to obtain syrup and sugar.

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A number of species of fruits were occasionally eaten but did not constitute important Apache foods. Among these were strawberries *(Fragaria bracteata)* and the purplish fruits of the wild privet *(Forestiera neomexicana)*, which were always eaten without preparation. Raspberries *(Rubus arizonicus)*, mulberries *(Morus microphylla)*, and hawthorne fruits *(Crataegus cerronis)* were either eaten fresh or pressed into pulpy cakes, dried, and stored for winter use.

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Wild gooseberries and currants were quite commonly used. The purplish red fruits of the spiny-fruited gooseberry *(Ribes pinetorum)* has a pleasant acid flavor when ripe in September, at which time the spines may be easily brushed from the fruits. They were ground and compressed into cakes for winter consumption. Another gooseberry *(R. leptanthum)*, which has smooth fruits, somewhat larger than the former species, was eaten fresh or made into cakes for use during the winter. This species was the most eagerly sought because of the size of its fruits. The rather insipid fruits of two species of black currant, *Ribes wolfii* and *R. mescalerium*, were at times eaten without preparation by these Indians. Fruits of the former, in earlier times, were ground, dried, and pressed into cakes for storage, but are now used for jelly; those of the latter species, however, are usually cooked. Grapes *(Vitis arizonicus)*, which grow

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in the mountains and ripen from July to September, were eaten fresh or might be dried and eaten like raisins.

Fruits of the one-seeded juniper *(Juniperus monosperma)* were commonly roasted in a pan over the open fire, a little water added, and when the whole became thick and white it was used as a gravy. The larger fruits of *J. pachyphloea* were eaten fresh when they ripened in July, at which time they were rather sweet. They might be roasted on heated stones and used either whole or ground. One informant reported that the "berries" are boiled and made into jellies or preserves, either in July or during the winter.

The white evening primrose *(Anogra albicaulis)*, as well as one or two other species of this genus, has podlike fruits that were occasionally chewed as a delicacy without preparation; the seeds might be ground and made into a sort of gravy or boiled in soups. The white seeds of the anglepod *(Vincetoxicum productum)*, which ripen and open in September, as well as the pods of *Maurandia wislizeni*, were eaten fresh or after being boiled. Children occasionally gathered pods of the evening primrose, *Galpinsia lavandulaefolia*, cooked, and ate them, but they were not an important article of food. The hard fruits of *Jamesia americana*, which also ripened in September, contained large seeds and were occasionally eaten fresh. Children commonly ate fresh ripe ground-cherries *(Physalis neomexicana)* as a delicacy. The Chiricahua Apache say that the seeds of the unicorn plant (probably *Martynia louisiana*) were eaten by the boys when these Indians were prisoners of war in Oklahoma.

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Several plants were utilied as chewing gum, the most common being the milkweed *(Asclepias speciosa)*. The "milk" was squezeed from the leaves and stems on a heavy black clay and the mixture chewed like ordinary gum. The resinous secretion from the trunk of the piñon pine *(Pinus edulis)* was also chewed, as well as the buds of the valley cottonwood *(Populus wislizeni)*.

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In this connection it may be noted that the Apache frequently made jelly from fruits such as algerita berries

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252 *(Berberis haematocarpa)*, which ripened in September, and
262 elderberries *(Sambucus microbotrys)*. These were cooked
137 with a sweet substance, strained, and allowed to jell. Rose hips *(Rosa fendleri)* were at times eaten fresh but more frequently the pulp was squeezed into water and boiled to make jelly, while black chokecherries *(Prunus melanocarpa)*, which ripened in August, were either eaten fresh or
[251] cooked to make a sort of preserve. Most commonly, however, the fruits were ground, pressed, and saved for winter, when the mass was cooked to make jelly. The Mescalero
262 Apache have used these chokecherries for many years. The
184 Chiricahua Apache called the fruit of this particular variety "bear's food" and did not eat them until they saw the Mes-
262 calero Apache do so. Another species of chokecherry *(Prunus* sp.) which grew in the Mescalero country was never eaten by the Apache, and most of these Indians were afraid to touch the fruits. The few who did occasionally eat them said they were intoxicating, and that the only way to counteract their effect was to eat fresh meat. The
[251] fruit of the hackberry, *Celtis reticulata*, which ripened late
[252] in September, was either eaten fresh or ground, caked, and dried for winter use. Sometimes jelly was made from it.

252 In common with many other groups of southwestern
262 Indians these Apache utilized to a considerable degree the
137 three-leaved sumac *(Rhus trilobata)*. The red fruits were gathered from midsummer to fall and dried in the sun. After grinding between flat stones the pulp was mixed with water and sugar and cooked. This jam was formerly commonly eaten with bread made of sunflower seeds and with prepared mescal. The fruits of *Rhus microphyllus* were similarly utilized.

Wild plants used as greens by the Apache, as well as other Indians of the Southwest, were red root or tumbleweed *(Amaranthus graecizans)*, purslane *(Portulaca oleracea)*, lamb's quarter, often called Indian spinach *(Chenopodium alba)*, leaves of pigweed *(Amaranthus retroflexus)*, the leaves of *Rumex occidentalis*, and osha or chuchupate *(Ligusticum porteri)*; all these are still utilized at the pres-

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ent time. They are not only eaten without preparation but are boiled and quite frequently cooked with meat or just the bones of animals, in combination with green chile and onions. Wood sorrel *(Oxalis violacea)* is often mixed with other leaves to be cooked or is eaten raw. The tops of fetid marigold *(Dysodia papposa)* and shepherd's purse *(Capsella bursa-pastoris)* are also used as greens, either cooked alone or with meat.

The young white rootstocks of cat-tail *(Typha latifolia)* were frequently gathered in the spring of the year and cooked with meat, as were the corm-like tubers of the sedge *(Cyperus fendlerianus)*. These were peeled and cooked or eaten raw. The Apache name for the last species, "feed to horse," was so given because the flowers and seeds were salted and fed to horses, and were said to be very fattening. The bulbs of wood-sorrel *(Oxalis violacea)* were eaten raw or, when abundant, were boiled. The raw fleshy roots of chimaja, also known as wild celery *(Cymopterus fendleri)*, were also utilized.

Leaves of dragon-head *(Dracocephalum parviflorum)*, the mint *(Mentha penardi)*, horsemint *(Monarda menthaefolia)*, and the pennyroyal *(Hedeoma nana)* were commonly used for flavoring. These Apache say that if they had no pepper this last named species was substituted in soups, but was not added until the soup had finished cooking. They also used the mint to keep water "cool," but probably meant that it made water more palatable to drink by imparting to it a cooling flavor. Hops *(Humulus lupulus neomexicanus)* were gathered in October, boiled, and used for flavoring in a considerable variety of ways. Formerly they were mixed with mesquite and screw bean flour (see p. 41) but at present they are mixed with wheat flour; they were also combined with wild potatoes to give flavor. More commonly they were used to flavor *tulbai*, the drink made from fermented maize. Wild onions *(Allium cernuum* and *A. geyeri)* flavored soups and gravy but were occasionally eaten raw. A sage, *Artemisia ludoviciana*, was also a flavoring substance for meat. A plant in very common use by vari-

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263 ous Indian groups of the Southwest was chimaja, also known
137 as "wild celery" *(Cymopterus fendleri)*, and these Apache used the leaves for flavoring soups and meats. It was gathered when in flower or seed and had a mild flavor intermediate between that of celery and carrot. The leaves were used
• [262] in combination with other green plant parts and the roots
[252] were eaten raw.

262 Seeds of many plants held an important place in the
252 Apache diet, one of the more important ones being red root
137 or tumbleweed *(Amaranthus graecizans)*. The inflorescences were pulled from the plant, threshed by rubbing between the hands, and the seeds winnowed and ground to make flour for bread. Other species of Amaranthus, especially *A. retroflexus*, the pigweed, were similarly utilized. Four species of grass—dropseed *(Sporobolus cryptandrus)*, *Muhlenbergia* sp., *Panicum bulbosum minor*, and grapevine mesquite grass *(Panicum obtusum)*—were also used for food, the seeds of the first three being threshed, winnowed, and ground into flour for bread. Seeds of the dropseed grass were boiled and eaten as porridge, while those of *Panicum obtusum*, as well as *Panicum bulbosum*, were ground to make gravy and mixed with meat. The small seeds of the shepherd's purse *(Capsella bursa-pastoris)* and fetid marigold *(Dysodia papposa)* were secured by cutting off the tops of the plants and beating them on a hide. Then
[251] the seeds were winnowed in a basket tray in the wind. After drying they were stored and, when needed, ground into flour for bread. Sometimes the seeds were roasted without grinding and combined with other foods.

Ripe sunflower seeds *(Helianthus annuus* and *H. canus)* were gathered in the fall of the year by threshing. Those of the former species were also harvested when dead ripe, by women, who placed a basket under the plant and sharply struck the back of the sunflower head with a stick, knocking the seeds into the basket. They were sometimes ground and the flour used for a thick gravy, but more commonly this was sifted, made into dough, and baked on hot stones or in hot ashes. This kind of bread is still in common use. Cre-

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mony *(6:296)* reported the use of sunflower seeds among the Apache who ground them on a metate and made the resulting flour into cakes; Bourke *(2:47)* referred to the Apache and other Indian groups as having cultivated the sunflowers about 1870, the seeds of which were ground with corn into meal and made into cakes. Bourke's information that the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache cultivated the sunflower is probably erroneous for these Indians are not known to have ever cultivated this plant. A jam made from the fruits of the three-leaved sumac *(Rhus trilobata)* was formerly extensively eaten with bread made from sunflower seeds. This jam is no longer in common use.

Seeds of other plants ground to make bread were notably false flax *(Camelina microcarpa)*, tansy mustard *(Sophia incisa)*, and the thistle *(Cirsium pallidum)*, none of which, however, were utilized extensively. The plants were threshed mechanically—false flax and thistle by shaking vigorously in the sack in which they were collected, tansy mustard by beating the pods with sticks. They were then winnowed, formerly in a hide because the seeds, especially those of false flax, would go through a burden basket, although a *tsa* (shallow basket) could be used. The flour from these species of seeds was made into dough and baked or the seeds might simply be boiled and eaten as were sunflower seeds.

The ripe pods of the vetch, *Vicia melilotoides*, as well as the wild pea, *Lathyrus leucanthus*, were cooked and eaten, or they might be dried and stored, to be soaked and boiled later.

BEVERAGES AND NARCOTICS

The most common and important drink among the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache was *tulbai* (an Apache term meaning "water, grey" from the Apache *tu*—"water" and *bai* from *tibai*—"grey") One occasionally reads about the Apache using *tiswin*, also *twilt-kah-yee*. Cremony *(6:245)* wrote of an intoxicating beverage by the latter name, distributed freely by the Apache at their puberty

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When a shaman finishes a curing ceremony over you, he gives you directions about things that you must not do or eat. . . . Restrictions that I have seen put on people are these: the person must not let anyone stand to the east of him; he must not let anyone cast a shadow on him; he must not eat meat from a cow's head; he must not eat liver; he must not eat bacon; if someone gives him a piece of fruit and it drops, he must not pick it up again and eat it.

If you are sick the shaman might tell you, "Don't let anyone stand to the east of you, in the way of the sun." Then you don't like it and tell anyone doing it to sit down. Some have a restriction that no one can stand over them; others that no one can stretch out his feet before them.

(*See also An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 265–266.)

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From what has already been described it is evident that, in the view of the Chiricahua Apache, the usefulness and success of the shaman are directly related to the rapport he establishes with the power which has chosen to "work through him." If his power is somehow alienated or angered, the ceremonialist will pray and sing his sacred songs in vain. Therefore a Chiricahua is extremely circumspect when referring to his power. An informant expressed some wonder that "the white man in his swearing uses things and people that he says he believes in and calls holy. When a Chiricahua swears, he mentions only things he fears and hates." In making decisions which involve his ceremony a shaman's power must be consulted. This is vividly revealed in the musings of the shaman who had misgivings over discussing details of ceremonial lore.

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It is a big thing to me. I'm afraid of it. Something is holding me back. I might put myself in trouble with the power . . . and today I feel that the power is holding on. I feel in my heart and mind that something is holding me back. I'm afraid. Tonight I am going to sing to my power. I am going to ask about the things that I have given (told) you. "Is it right to do that?" I am going to ask my power. I don't know what you are going to do with this (information) but Power will tell